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THE

HISTORY

OF

THE RISE AND PROGRESS

OF

THE UNITED STATES

OF

NORTH AMERICA,

TILL

THE BRITISH REVOLUTION IN 1688.

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ac

By JAMES GRAHAME, Esq.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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TO

ROBERT GRAHAME, ESQ.

OF WHITEHILL, LANARKSHIRE,

SCOTLAND,

THIS WORK IS DEDICATED,

BY

HIS SON.

PREFACE.

THE composition which I now deliver to the public, is the first of a threefold series of works, which, when completed, will form *The History of the United States of North America, from the Plantation of the English Colonies to the Establishment of their Independence.* My plan is restricted to the history of those provinces of North America (originating, all except New York and Delaware, from British colonisation,) which, at the era of the American Revolution, were included in the confederacy of the United States: the illustration of the rise and formation of this great republic, being the end of my labours.

The present work, the first of the projected series, embraces the rise of such of those States, comprehended within my general plan, as were founded prior to the British Revolution in 1688, and traces their progress till that epoch. In some instances I have found it necessary to carry forward the history of particular states, somewhat beyond this precise boundary; partly because the influence of the British Revolution did not immediately extend to them, and partly in order to exhibit a complete view of certain interesting transactions, of which the account would otherwise have been broken and defective. A second performance, for which I have already collected a considerable mass of materials, will embrace the further history of these earlier states, together with the rise and progress of those which were subsequently formed, till the commencement of the American Revolution. This second

work, which, like the present, will occupy, I believe, two volumes, I consider the most difficult and important portion of my labours. Two additional volumes, I trust, will enable me to complete my general plan, and embrace the history of the revolutionary war, and the establishment and consolidation of the North American Republic.

In the collection of materials for the composition of this work, I have been obliged to incur a degree of labour and expence, which, had I originally foreseen, I doubt if I could have ventured to encounter. Considering the connection that so long subsisted between Great Britain and the American States, the information concerning the early history of many of these provinces, which the public libraries of Britain are capable of supplying, is amazingly scanty. Many valuable works illustrative of the history and statistics both of particular states and of the whole North American commonwealth, are wholly unknown in the British libraries *: a defect the more discreditable, as these works have long enjoyed a high repute at the seats of learning on the continent of Europe, and as the greater part of them might be procured without difficulty in London or from America.

After borrowing all the materials that I could so procure, and purchasing as many more as I could find in Britain, my collection proved still so defective in

* In the Advocates' Library of Edinburgh, for example, there is not a single separate history of Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Maine, Maryland, New Jersey, or Pennsylvania; there is not one of the statistical works of Pitkin or Seybert; and although there are the first volumes, respectively, of Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, and of Hazard's Historical Collections, none of the posterior volumes of these interesting works have ever been procured. But the negative catalogue of the Advocates' Library, in this department, is too copious for further quotation.

To the British Museum I am indebted for the perusal of several works of very great rarity; particularly Denton's description of New York, and Archdale's Description of Carolina. But this collection, though much richer than the Advocates' Library, is yet exceedingly defective in American history.

many respects, that in the hope of enlarging it, I undertook a journey to Gottingen; and in the library of this place, as I had been taught to expect, I found an ampler collection of North American literature, than any or indeed all the libraries of Britain could supply. From the resources of the Gottingen library, aided by the liberality with which its administrators are always willing to render it subservient to the purposes of literary inquiry, I have derived the greatest advantage and assistance. Yet even this admirable repository of history is not entirely perfect; and I have still to lament my inability to procure some works illustrative of my subject, which, whatever may be their value, it would have been satisfactory to have had an opportunity of perusing. Hopkins's History of Providence, in particular, Vanderdonck's History of New Netherlands, and Holm's History of Swedeland in America, are books which I have been hitherto unable to procure. The learned Ebeling has characterised the first of these as a book not easily met with: and that I am not chargeable with negligent inquiry, may be inferred, I think, from the fact, that I have succeeded in procuring and consulting various works which Ebeling confesses his inability to obtain, besides many of whose existence he seems not to have been aware.* Even those which for the present I am obliged to dispense with, as well as various other works of infrequent occurrence and applicable to a later portion of time, I still hope to procure for the elucidation of the vast and varied subject of my second composition.

History addresses her lessons to all mankind: but when she records the fortunes of an existing people,

* I am indebted to the private collections of various individuals for the perusal of some very rare and not less interesting works; and in particular I beg leave to acknowledge the kindness with which the valuable library of the late George Chalmers was submitted to my examination, by his nephew and executor Mr James Chalmers of London.

it is to them that her admonitions are especially directed. There has never been a people on whose character their own historical recollections were calculated to exercise a more animating or salutary influence, than the nation whose history I have undertaken to relate.

In national societies established after the manner of the United States of North America, history does not begin with obscure or fabulous legends. The origin of the nation, and the rise and progress of all its institutions, may be distinctly known. The people may obtain an accurate and familiar acquaintance with the character of their earliest national ancestors, and of every succeeding generation through which the inheritance of the national name and fortunes has devolved to themselves. When this interesting knowledge is blended with the information that their existence as a people originated in the noblest efforts of wisdom, fortitude, and magnanimity, and that every successive acquisition by which their liberty and happiness have been extended and secured, has arisen from the exercise of the same qualities, and evinced their faithful preservation and unimpaired efficacy,—respect for antiquity becomes the motive and pledge of virtue; the whole nation feels itself ennobled by ancestors whose renown will continue to the end of time the honour or reproach of their successors; and the love of virtue is so interwoven with patriotism and with national glory, as to prevent the one from becoming a selfish principle, and the other a splendid or mischievous illusion. If an inspired apostle might with complacency proclaim himself *a citizen of no mean city*, a North American may feel grateful exultation in avowing himself the native of no ignoble land,—but of a land that has yielded as great an increase of glory to God and of happiness to man, as any other portion of the world, since the first syllable of

recorded time, has ever had the honour of producing. A nobler model of human character could hardly be proposed to the inhabitants of New England, Pennsylvania, and others of the North American States, than that which their own early history supplies. It is at once their interest and their honour to preserve with sacred care a model so richly fraught with the instructions of wisdom and the incitements of duty. The memory of the saints and heroes whom they claim as their natural or national ancestors will bless all those who account it blessed; and the ashes of their fathers will give forth a nobler influence than the bones of the prophet of Israel, in reviving piety and invigorating virtue. So much, at the same time, of human weakness and imperfection is discernible in the conduct, or is attested by the avowals of these eminent men, and so steady and explicit was their reference to heavenly aid, of all the good they were enabled to perform or attain, that the admiration they so strongly claim never exceeds a just subordination to the glory of the Most High, and enforces the scriptural testimony to the riches of divine grace, and the reflected lustre of human virtue.

The most important requisite of historical compositions, and that in which, I suspect, they are commonly most defective, is truth — a requisite, of which even the sincerity of the historian is insufficient to assure us. In tracing ascertained and important facts, either backward into their original, or forward into their operation, the historian frequently encounters, on either hand, a perplexing variety of dissimilar causes and diverging effects; among which it is no less difficult than important to discriminate the peculiar springs of action, and to preserve the moral stream of events. Indiscriminate detail would produce intolerable fatigue and confusion; while selection inevitably

infers the risk of error. The sacred historians often record events with little or no reference to their historical pedigree; and have thus given to some parts of the only history that is infallibly authentic, an appearance of improbability, which the more reasoning productions of uninspired narrators have exchanged, at least as frequently, for substantial misrepresentation. It may be thought an imprudent avowal, and yet I have no desire to conceal, that, in examining and comparing historical records, I have often been forcibly reminded of Sir Robert Walpole's assurance to his son, that "*History must be false.*"* Happily, this apophthegm applies, if not exclusively, at least most forcibly to that which Walpole probably regarded as the main trunk of history, but which is really the most insignificant branch of it,—the intrigues of cabinets, the secret machinations and designs of ministers, and the contests of trading politicians.

In surveying the contests of human beings, it is difficult, or rather it is impossible, for a man of like feelings with themselves, to escape entirely the contagion of those passions which the contests arose from or engendered. Thus partialities are secretly insinuated into the mind; and in balancing opposite testimony, these partialities find a sure, though secret means of exerting their influence. I am not desirous of concealing that I feel such partialities within

* Horace Walpole's works.—A curious illustration of historical inaccuracy was related by the late President Jefferson to an intelligent English traveller. The Abbé Raynal, in his History of the British Settlements in America, has recounted a remarkable story which implies the existence of a particular law in New England. Some Americans being in company with the Abbé at Paris, questioned the truth of the story, alleging that no such law had ever existed in New England. The Abbé maintained the authenticity of his History, till he was interrupted by Dr. Franklin, who was present, and after listening for some time in silence to the dispute, said, "I can account for all this: you took the anecdote from a newspaper, of which I was at that time editor, and, happening to be very short of news, I composed and inserted the whole story." Hall's Travels in Canada and the United States, pp. 382, 383.

myself; and if my consciousness of their existence should not exempt me from their influence, I hope the avowal, at least, will prevent the error from extending to my readers. I am sensible of a strong predilection in favour of America, and the *colonial side* in the great controversies between her people and the British government; which must occupy so prominent a place in the ensuing pages. Against the influence of this predilection, I hope I am sufficiently on my guard; and my apprehensions of it are moderated by the recollection that there is a wisdom which is divinely declared to be *without partiality, and without hypocrisy,* and attainable by all who seek it in sincerity from its heavenly source.

I am far from thinking or from desiring it should be thought, that every part of the conduct of America throughout these controversies to which I have alluded, was pure and blameless. Much guile, much evil passion, violence, and injustice, dishonoured many of the councils and proceedings of the leaders and assemblies of America; and it was the conduct of one of the States, the most renowned for piety and virtue, that suggested to her historian the melancholy observation, "that in all ages and countries communities of men have done that, of which most of the individuals of whom they consisted would, acting separately, have been ashamed."* But mingled masses are justly denominated from the elements and qualities that preponderate in their composition; and sages and patriots will be equally voted out of the world if we can never recognise the lineaments of worth and wisdom under the rags of mortal imperfection. There exists in some romantic speculative minds, a platonic love of liberty, as well as virtue, that consists

* Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, vol. i. p. 156. This observation referred to the dispute between Massachusetts and the confederated States of New England in 1649.

with a cordial disgust for every visible and actual incarnation of either of these principles; and which, when not corrected by sense and experience, conducts to endless error or incurable misanthropy.

Whoever examines the histories of individuals or communities, must expect to be disappointed and perplexed by numberless inconsistencies. Much error is produced and continued in the world by unwillingness or inability to make candid concessions, or indeed to distinguish candour from sincerity—to admit in an adversary the excellence that condemns our vehement hate; in a friend or hero, the defects that sully the pleasing image of virtue, that diminish our exultation, bid us *cease from man*, and shew us *the end of all perfection*. With partial views, we encounter the opposite partialities of antagonists, and by mutual commission and perception of injustice, render each other's misapprehensions incurable. It should be the great end of history to correct the errors by which experience is thus rendered useless: and this end I have proposed, in humble reliance on Divine guidance, to pursue.

Hastings, January, 1827.

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

BOOK I.

VIRGINIA.

CHAP. I.

Cabot despatched by Henry VII. — visits the coast of North America. Neglect of Henry to profit by Cabot's discovery — and of his immediate successors. Reign of Elizabeth — favourable to maritime adventure. Rise of the Slave Trade. Sir Walter Raleigh — projects a Colony in North America. First expedition fails. Elizabeth names the country Virginia. Grenville despatched by Raleigh — establishes a Colony at Roanoak. Misfortunes of the Colonists — their return. Use of tobacco introduced in England. Farther efforts of Raleigh — terminate unsuccessfully. Accession of James to the English Crown. Gosnold's Voyage — its effects. James divides North America between two Companies. Tenor of their Charter. Royal Code of Laws. The first body of Colonists embarked by the London Company — arrive in the bay of Chesapeak — found James Town. Dissensions of the Colonists. Hostility of the Indians. Distress and confusion of the Colony. Services of Captain Smith. He is taken prisoner by the Indians — his liberation. He preserves the Colony. The Colonists deceived by appearances of gold. Smith surveys the bay of Chesapeak — elected President of the Colony. New Charter. Lord Delaware appointed Governor. Newport, Gates, and Somers, sent out to preside till Lord Delaware's arrival — are wrecked on the coast of Bermudas. Captain Smith returns to England. — Page 1

CHAP. II.

The Colony a prey to anarchy — and famine. Gates and Somers arrive from Bermudas. Abandonment of the Colony determined — prevented by the arrival of Lord Delaware.

His wise administration — his return to England. Sir Thomas Dale's administration. Martial law established. Indian Chief's daughter seized by Captain Argal — married to Mr. Rolfe. Right of private property in land introduced into the Colony. Expeditions of Argal against Port Royal and New York. Tobacco cultivated by the Colonists. First Assembly of Representatives convened in Virginia. New Constitution of the Colony. Introduction of Negro Slavery. Migration of young women from England to Virginia. Dispute between the King and the Colony. Conspiracy of the Indians. Massacre of the Colonists. Dissensions of the London Company. The Company dissolved. The King assumes the government of the Colony — his death. Charles I. pursues his Father's arbitrary views. Tyrannical government of Sir John Harvey. Sir William Berkeley appointed Governor. The popular Assembly restored. Virginia espouses the Royal Cause — subdued by the Long Parliament. Restraints imposed on the trade of the Colony. Revolt of the Colony — Sir William Berkeley resumes the government. Restoration of Charles II. Page 67

CHAP. III.

The Navigation Act — its impolicy. Discontent and distress of the Colonists. Naturalization of Aliens. Progress of the Colonial discontent. Indian hostilities. Bacon's rebellion. Death of Bacon — and restoration of tranquillity. Bill of Attainder passed by the Colonial Assembly. Sir William Berkeley superseded by Colonel Jeffreys. Partiality of the new Governor — dispute with the Assembly. Renewal of discontents. Lord Culpeper appointed Governor — severity and rapacity of his administration. An insurrection — punishment of the insurgents. Arbitrary measures of the Crown. James II. — augments the burdens of the Colonists. Corrupt and oppressive government of Lord Effingham. Revolution in Britain. Complaints of the Colonies against the former Governors discouraged by King William. Effect of the English Revolution on the American Colonies. State of Virginia at this period — Population — Laws — Manners. Page 125

BOOK II.

THE NEW ENGLAND STATES.

CHAP. I.

Attempts of the Plymouth Company to colonize the Northern Coast of America. Popham establishes a Colony at Fort Saint George — sufferings and return of the Colonists.

Captain Smith's voyage, and survey of the country — which is named New England. His ineffectual attempt to conduct a Colony thither. The Company relinquish the design of colonizing New England. History and character of the Puritans. Rise of the Brownists or Independents. A congregation of Independents retire to Holland — they resolve to settle in America. Negotiation with King James. They arrive in Massachusetts — and found New Plymouth. Hardships — and virtue of the Colonists. Their civil institutions. Community of property. Increase of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny in England. Project of a new Colony in Massachusetts. Salem built. Charter of Massachusetts bay obtained from Charles I. by an association of Puritans. Embarkation of the emigrants — arrival at Salem. Their Constitutions in Church and State. Two persons banished from the Colony for schism. Intolerance of some of the Puritans. Page 183

CHAP. II.

The Charter Government transferred from England to Massachusetts. Numerous emigration — foundation of Boston — hardships of the new settlers. Disfranchisement of dissenters in the Colony. Influence of the colonial clergy. John Cotton, and his colleagues and successors. Williams' schism — he founds Providence. Representative Assembly established in Massachusetts. Arrival of Hugh Peters — and Henry Vane — who is elected Governor. Foundation of Connecticut — and Newhaven. War with the Pequod Indians. Severities exercised by the victorious colonists. Disturbances created by Mrs. Hutchinson. Colonization of Rhode Island — and of New Hampshire and Maine. Jealousy and fluctuating conduct of the King. Measures adopted against the liberties of Massachusetts — interrupted by the civil wars. State of New England. Population, laws, manners. Page 257

CHAP. III.

New England embraces the cause of the Parliament. Federal union between the New England States. Provincial coinage of money. Disputes occasioned by the disfranchisement of dissenters in Massachusetts. Impeachment and trial of Governor Winthrop. Arbitrary proceedings against the dissenters. Attempts to convert and civilize the Indians. Character and labours of Elliot and Mayhew. Indian Bible printed in Massachusetts. Effects of the Missionary labour. A Synod of the New England Churches. Dispute between Massachusetts and the Long Parliament. The Colony foils the Parliament — and is favoured by Cromwell. The Protector's administration beneficial to New England. He conquers Acadie. His propositions to the inhabitants of Massachusetts — declined by them. Persecution of the Anabaptists

in Massachusetts. Conduct and sufferings of the Quakers. The Restoration. Address of Massachusetts to Charles II. Alarm of the Colonists — their Declaration of Rights. The King's Message to Massachusetts — how far complied with. Royal Charter of Incorporation to Rhode Island and Providence — and to Connecticut and Newhaven. Page 311

CHAP. IV.

Emigration of ejected ministers to New England. Royal Commissioners sent to the Province. Address of the Assembly of Massachusetts to the King — rejected. Policy pursued by the Commissioners. Their disputes with the Government of Massachusetts — and return to England. Policy of the Colonists to conciliate the King — effects of it. Cession of Acadie to the French. Prosperous state of New England. Conspiracy of the Indians. Philip's war. The King resumes his designs against Massachusetts. Controversy respecting the right to Maine and New Hampshire. Progress of the dispute between the King and the Colony. State of parties in Massachusetts. State of religion and morals. Surrender of the Charter of Massachusetts demanded by the King — refused by the Colonists. Writ of *Quo Warranto* issued against the Colony. Firmness of the people. Their Charter adjudged to be forfeited. Page 378

CHAP. V.

Designs — and death of Charles II. Government of Massachusetts under a temporary Commission from James II. Andros appointed Governor of New England. Submission of Rhode Island. Resolute effort to preserve the Charter of Connecticut. Oppressive government of Andros. Colonial policy of the King. Sir William Phipps. Indian hostilities renewed by the intrigues of the French. Insurrection at Boston — Andros deposed — and the ancient government restored. Connecticut and Rhode Island resume their Charters. William and Mary proclaimed. War with the French and Indians. Sir William Phipps conquers Acadie. Ineffectual expedition against Quebec. Impeachment of Andros by the Colony, discouraged by the English Ministers — and dismissed. The King refuses to restore the ancient Constitution of Massachusetts. Tenor of the new Charter. Sir William Phipps Governor. The New England witchcraft. Death of Phipps. War with the French and Indians. Loss of Acadie. Peace of Ryswick. Moral and political state of New England. Page 429

NOTES. 511

BOOK I.

VIRGINIA.

THE

HISTORY

OF

NORTH AMERICA.

BOOK I.

VIRGINIA.

CHAPTER I.

Cabot despatched by Henry the Seventh—visits the Coast of North America.—Neglect of Henry to profit by Cabot's Discovery—and of his immediate Successors.—Reign of Elizabeth—favourable to Maritime Adventure.—Rise of the Slave-Trade.—Sir Walter Raleigh—projects a Colony in North America—first Expedition fails.—Elizabeth names the Country Virginia.—Grenville despatched by Raleigh—establishes a Colony at Roanoak.—Misfortunes of the Colonists—their Return.—Use of Tobacco introduced in England.—Farther Efforts of Raleigh—terminate unsuccessfully.—Accession of James to the English Crown.—Gosnold's Voyage—its Effects.—James divides North America between two Companies.—Tenor of their Charters.—Royal Code of Laws.—The first Body of Colonists embarked by the London Company—arrive in the Bay of Chesapeak—found James Town.—Dissensions of the Colonists.—Hostility of the Indians.—Distress and Confusion of the Colony.—Services of Captain Smith—he is taken Prisoner by the Indians—his Liberation—he preserves the Colony.—The Colonists deceived by Appearances of Gold.—Smith surveys the Bay of Chesapeak—elected President of the Colony.—New Charter.—Lord Delaware appointed Governor.—Newport, Gates, and Somers sent out to preside till Lord Delaware's Arrival—are wrecked on the Coast of Bermudas.—Captain Smith returns to England.

IT was on the third of August, 1492, a little before sun-rise, that Christopher Columbus, undertaking the

CHAP. I.

1492.

BOOK I.

most memorable enterprise that human genius ever planned or human skill and courage ever performed, set sail from Spain for the discovery of the western world. On the 13th of October, about two hours before midnight, a light in the island of San Salvador was descried by Columbus from the deck of his vessel, and America for the first time beheld by European eyes[1]. Of the vast and important consequences that depended on this spectacle, perhaps not even the comprehensive mind of Columbus was fully sensible: but to the end of time, the heart of every human being who reads the story will confess the interest of that eventful moment, and partake the feelings of that illustrious man. On the following day, the adventurers, preceded by their commander, took possession of the soil; and a connexion that was to subsist for ever was established between Europe and America. The cross was planted on the shores of the western world; and in the hour that witnessed this great re-union of mankind, the knee was bowed to that Being who has proclaimed himself the brother of the whole human race, and the author of a common salvation to all the ends of the earth.

The intelligence of this successful voyage was received in Europe with the utmost surprise and admiration. In England, more especially, it was calculated to produce a very powerful impression, and

[1] Dr. Robertson is of opinion that the Ancients had no notion of the existence of the western world, and has collected from ancient writers many proofs, not only of ignorance, but of most barbarous error respecting the territorial resources of the earth: Hist. of America, B. I. Yet a Roman writer, to whose sentiments he has not adverted, is supposed to have prophesied the discovery of America 1400 years before this event took place. The passage occurs in one of Seneca's tragedies.

"Veniet annis
Secula seris, quibus oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
Pateat tellus, Tiphysque novos
Detegat orbes; nec sit terris
Ultima Thule."

MEDEA, *Act II. Chorus.*

CHAP. I.

to awaken at once emulation and regret. While Columbus was proposing his schemes with little prospect of success at the court of Spain, he had despatched his brother Bartholomew to the court of Henry the VIIth in England, there to solicit patronage and offer the fruits of discovery. Bartholomew was taken prisoner by pirates, and after a long detention was reduced to such poverty, that on his arrival in London he was compelled, by the labour of his hands, to procure the means of arraying himself in habiliments suited to his interview with a monarch. On such slight circumstances the fates of nations, at times, seem to depend: while in reality they are over-ruled, not by circumstances, but by that Being who arranges and disposes circumstances in harmony with the predeterminations of his own will. The propositions of Bartholomew were favourably received by Henry: but before a definitive arrangement was concluded, Bartholomew was recalled by the intelligence that his brother's plans had at length been sanctioned and adopted by Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain.

If the cautious temper and frugal disposition of Henry contributed to diminish his regrets for the abandonment of a hazardous and expensive undertaking, the astonishing success with which its actual prosecution by others had been attended, revived the former projects of his mind, and whetted it to a degree of enterprise that showed him both instructed and provoked by his disappointment[2]. In this disposition he listened readily to the proposals of one Gabato or Cabot, a Venetian, residing in Bristol; who, from considering the discoveries of Columbus towards the south-west, had formed the opinion that lands might likewise be discovered towards the north-west, and now offered the king to conduct an ex-

Cabot despatched by Henry the VIIth.

[2] Bacon's History of Henry the VIIth, p. 187.

BOOK I.

pedition in this direction. Henry, prompted by his avarice and stung by his disappointment, eagerly embraced the proposals of Cabot, and not only granted him a commission of discovery, but, on two subsequent occasions, issued similar commissions for the discovery and appropriation of unknown territories[3].

1495. The commission to Cabot, the only one which was productive of interesting consequences, was granted on the 5th of March, 1495, (about two years after the return of Columbus from America), and empowered this adventurer and his sons to sail under the flag of England in quest of countries yet unoccupied by any christian state; to take possession of them in the name of Henry, and plant the English banner on the walls of their castles and cities, and to maintain with the inhabitants a traffic exclusive of all competitors, and exempted from customs; under the condition of paying a fifth part of the free profit
1497. on every voyage to the crown[4]. About two years after the date of his commission, Cabot, with his second son Sebastian, embarked at Bristol[5], in a ship furnished by the king, and was attended by four small vessels equipped by the merchants of that city. Sebastian Cabot appears to have greatly excelled his father in genius and nautical science; and it is to him alone that historians have ascribed all the discoveries with which the name of Cabot is associated.

The navigators of that age were not less influenced by the opinions than incited by the example of Columbus, who erroneously supposed that the islands he had discovered in his first voyage were outskirts or dependencies of India, and not far remote from

[3] Bacon, p. 189.
[4] Hakluyt, iii. 4. Chalmers's Annals of the United Colonies, p. 7. Hazard's Historical Collections, p. 9.
[5] Smith's History of Virginia, New England, and the Somer-Isles, B. i.

CHAP. I.

the Indian continent. Influenced by this notion, Sebastian Cabot conceived the hope that by steering to the north-west he might fulfil the design, and even improve the performance of Columbus, and reach India by a shorter course than his predecessor had taken. Pursuing this track, he discovered the islands of Newfoundland and St. John; and, still continuing to hold a westerly course, soon reached the continent of North America, and sailed along it from the confines of Labrador to the coast of Virginia. Thus conducted by Cabot, who was himself guided by the genius of Columbus, did the English achieve the honour of being the second nation that had visited the western world, and the first that had discovered that vast continent that stretches from the Gulf of Mexico towards the North Pole. For it was not till the following year that Columbus, in his second voyage, was enabled to complete his own discovery, and proceed beyond the islands he had first visited, to the continent of America.

Visits the coast of North America.

1498.

Cabot, disappointed in his main object of finding a western passage to India, returned to England to relate the discoveries he had already effected, without attempting either by settlement or conquest to gain a footing on the American continent[6]. He would willingly have resumed his voyages in the service of England, but he found that in his absence the king's ardour for discovery had greatly abated. Seated on a throne which he had gained by conquest in a country exhausted by civil wars, involved in hostilities with Scotland, and harassed by the insurrections of his subjects and the machinations of pre-

Neglect of Henry to profit by Cabot's discovery,

[6] Churchill's Collection of Voyages, iii. 211. He composed, on his return, a chart of the whole North-American continent. This interesting document (attached to which was a portrait of the Navigator, and a brief account of his voyage) was long suspended in the Privy Gallery of the kings of England, at Whitehall, and is supposed to have perished by the fire which destroyed that Gallery, in the reign of William the IIId. Entick's Gen. Hist. of the Late War, vol. i. p. 169.

BOOK I. tenders to his crown, Henry had little leisure for the execution of distant projects; and his sordid disposition found little attraction in the prospect of a colonial settlement, which was not likely to be productive of immediate pecuniary gain. He was engaged, too, at this time, in negotiating the marriage of his son with the daughter of Ferdinand of Spain, and must, therefore, have felt himself additionally disinclined to pursue a project that could not fail to give umbrage to this jealous prince, who claimed the whole continent of America, in virtue of a donation from the Pope. Nor were the subjects of Henry in a condition to avail themselves of the ample field that Cabot's discovery had opened to their enterprise and activity. The civil wars had dissipated wealth, repressed commerce, and even excluded the English people from sharing in the general improvement which the nations of Europe had now begun to experience. All the advantages, then, that England, for the present, derived from the voyage of Cabot was, that right of property which is supposed to arise from priority of discovery—a right which, from the extent of the territory, the mildness of its climate, and the fertility of its soil, afforded an ample prospect of advantageous colonization. But from the circumstances in which the nation was placed, or rather from the designs of that Providence which governs circumstances, and renders them subservient to the destinies of nations and individuals, was England prevented from occupying this important field, till the moral and religious advancement which her people were soon to undergo, had qualified her to become the parent of North America. Cabot finding that Henry had abandoned his colonial projects, soon after transferred his services to the Spaniards; and the English seemed contented to surrender their discoveries and the discoverer to the superior fortune

of that successful people. The only immediate fruit that England derived from his enterprise is said to have been the importation from America of the first turkeys[7] that had ever been seen in Europe. CHAP. I.

It is remarkable, that of these first expeditions to the western world, by Spain and England, not one was either projected or commanded by a citizen of the state which supplied the subordinate adventurers, defrayed the expense of the equipment, and reaped the benefit of the enterprise. The honour of the achievement was thus more widely distributed. The Spanish adventurers were conducted by Columbus, a native of Genoa; the English, by John Cabot, a citizen of Venice: and though Sebastian Cabot, whose superior genius soon assumed the chief direction of the enterprise, had himself been born in England, it was by the experience and instructions of his father that his genius had been trained to naval affairs, and it was to the father that the projection of the voyage was due, and the chief command of it intrusted. Happily for the honour of the English nation, the parallel extends no farther; and the treatment which the two discoverers experienced from the countries that had employed them, differed as widely as the histories of the two empires which they respectively contributed to found. Columbus was loaded with chains in the country which he had the glory of discovering, and died the victim of ingratitude and disappointment among the people whom he had conducted to so much wealth and renown. Cabot, after spending some years in the service of Spain, also experienced her ingratitude; and returning, in his old age, to England, he obtained a kind and honourable reception from the nation which had, as

7 Why this bird received the name it enjoys in England, has never been satisfactorily explained. By the French it was called *coq d'Inde*, on account of its American original; America being then generally termed Western India.

BOOK I.

yet, derived only barren hopes, and a seemingly relinquished title from his expedition. He received the dignity of knighthood, the appointment of Grand Pilot of England, and a pension that enabled him to spend his old age in circumstances of honour and comfort [8].

and of his immediate successors.

From this period till the reign of Elizabeth, no general or deliberate design was formed in England for the acquisition of territory, or the establishment of colonies in America. During the reign of Henry the VIIIth, the vigour and attention of the English government were for many years absorbed by the wars and intrigues of the continent; and the innovations in religious doctrine and ecclesiastical constitution that attended its close, found ample employment at home for the minds of the king, and of the great bulk of the people. It was during this reign that the full light of the Reformation broke forth in Germany, and was rapidly diffused over Europe. Henry, at first, resolutely opposed himself to the adversaries of the church of Rome, and even attempted, by his pen, to stem the progress of the innovations. But his subsequent controversy with the Papal See excited and sanctioned a spirit of inquiry among his own subjects, which spread far beyond his expectations and desires, and eluded all his attempts to control and restrain it. A discussion of the pretensions of the church of Rome naturally begot inquiry into her doctrines; for her grand pretension to infallibility formed the only authority to which many of these doctrines were indebted for their reception. The very art that had been employed (says an ingenious philosopher [9]) to weave the whole of the popish institutions into one coherent system, and to make every superstitious device repose on the authority and conduce to the aggrandisement

[8] Smith's History of Virginia, &c. B. i.

[9] Hume.

the church of Rome, now contributed to accelerate and complete her downfall. In a system so overgrown with abuses, the spirit of inquiry, wherever it obtained admission, could not fail to detect error; and even a single instance of such detection, by loosening the corner-stone of infallibility, shook the whole edifice to its foundation. The progress of this spirit of inquiry exercised a powerful and salutary influence on the character and fortune of every nation in which it gained admission. A subject of intellectual exercise had at length been found, that could interest the dullest, and engross the most vigorous faculties; the contagion of fervent zeal and earnest inquiry was rapidly propagated; a universal promotion of mind attended the spread of the reformed doctrines, and every nation into which they flowed was elevated in the scale of moral and intellectual being. Introduced into England by the power of a haughty, capricious, and barbarous tyrant, whose object was not the emancipation of his subjects, but the deliverance of himself from a power which he wrested from the Pope only to exercise with his own hands; it was some time before these doctrines worked their way into the minds of the people, and, expelling the corruptions and adulterations of the royal teacher, attained their full maturity of influence and vigour. Besides leavening the national creed with much of the ancient superstition, Henry encumbered the national worship with many of the popish institutions: retaining whatever was calculated to prove a useful auxiliary to royal authority, or to gratify the pomp and pride of his own sensual imagination. In the composition of the ecclesiastical body, he preserved the powerful hierarchy, and in the solemnities of worship the gorgeous ceremonial of the church of Rome. But he found it easier to establish ecclesiastical constitutions, than to limit the stream of human opinion,

BOOK I.

or stay the heavenly shower by which it was slowly but gradually reinforced and enlarged; and in an after age, the repugnance that manifested itself between the constitution of the English church and the religious sentiments of the English people, produced consequences of very great importance in the history of England and the settlement of America.

The rupture between Henry the VIIIth and the Roman see removed whatever obstacle the popish donative to Spain might have interposed to the appropriation of American territory by the English crown: but of the two immediate successors of that monarch, the one neglected this advantage, and the other renounced it. During the reign of Edward the VIth, the court of the royal minor was distracted by faction, or occupied by the war with Scotland; and the attention of the king and people was engrossed by the care of extending and confirming the establishment of the protestant doctrines. Introduced by Henry, and patronized by Edward, these doctrines multiplied their converts with a facility that savoured somewhat of the weight of human authority, and the influence of secular interests; till, under the direction of Providence, the same earthly power that had been employed to facilitate the introduction of truth, was permitted to attempt its suppression. The royal authority, which Henry had blindly made subservient to the establishment of the protestant doctrines, was now employed by Mary with equal blindness as an instrument to sift and purify the protestant body, to separate the genuine from the unsound, and to enable the true believers, by more than mortal fortitude, faithfulness, and patience, to make full proof of christian character and divine grace. This princess restoring the connexion between England and the church of Rome, and united in marriage to Philip of Spain, was bound by double

ties to refrain from contesting the Spanish claims on America. It was not till the reign of Elizabeth, that the obstacles created by the pretensions of Spain were finally removed, and the prospect of collision with the designs of that power, so far from appearing objectionable, presented the strongest attractions to the minds of the English.

But, although during this long period the occupation of America had been utterly neglected, the naval resources adapted to the formation and maintenance of colonies were diligently cultivated in England, and a vigorous impulse was communicated to the spirit of commercial enterprise. Under the directions of Cabot, in the reign of Henry the VIIIth, the English merchants visited the coast of Brazil, and traded with the settlements of the Portuguese[1]. In the reign of Edward the VIth, the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, which had been previously established, were extended and encouraged[2]; and an association of adventurers for the discovery of new countries was incorporated by royal charter. Even Mary contributed to promote this direction of the national spirit: she founded the Corporation of Merchants to Russia[3], and endeavoured to protect their traffic, by establishing a friendly relation with the sovereign of that country. During her reign, an attempt highly creditable to the national energy, and not wholly unsuccessful, was made to reach India by land[4]; and a commercial intercourse was established with the coast of Africa. Many symptoms conspired to indicate with what steady vigour and persevering ardour the people of England might be expected to improve every opportunity of exercising and extending their resources, and how high a rank they were destined to hold in the

[1] Hakluyt, iii. 498. 700. [2] Ibid. iii. 131. [3] Ibid. i. 258. [4] Ibid. i. 301. 310.

BOOK I.

scale of nations, when the strength of their character should be thoroughly developed by the progress of their recent improvement, and the principles and policy of their government should more happily concur with the genius and sentiments of the people.

The Spaniards in the meantime had extended their settlements over the continent of South America, and achieved an extent of conquest and accession of treasure that dazzled the eyes and excited the emulation of all Europe. The more active spirits among the Spanish people, restrained at home by the illiberal genius of their government, eagerly rushed into the outlet of enterprise presented to them on the vast theatre of Mexico and Peru. The paganism of the natives of these regions allured the invasion of bigots long wedded to a faith that recognised compulsion as an instrument of conversion; and their wealth and effeminacy not less powerfully tempted the cupidity of men in whom pride inflamed the desire of riches, while it inspired contempt of industry. Thus every prospect that could address itself prevailingly to human desires, or to the peculiarities of Spanish character, contributed to promote that series of rapid and vigorous invasions, by which the Spaniards overran so large a portion of the continent of South America. The real and lasting effect of their acquisitions has corresponded in a manner very satisfactory to the moral eye, with the character and merit of the achievements by which they were earned. The history of the expeditions which terminated in the conquest of Mexico and Peru displays, perhaps, more strikingly than any other portion of the records of the human race, what amazing exertions the mind of man can prompt him to attempt, and sustain him to endure—how signally he is capable of misdirecting the energies with which his Creator has endowed him—and how fatally dis-

posed to exercise them more vigorously in the commission of wickedness than the practice of virtue. Wholly revolted from God, in the darkness of a disordered nature, and never wholly returning in this life to an entire subordination, men seem to be capable of obtaining a more perfect co-operation of their active faculties, and more extensive contribution of the resources of their nature to the production of evil than to the prosecution of good[5]. To consider the courage, the patience, the vigour, the fortitude, evinced by the conquerors of South America, in conjunction with the sordid, unjust, and barbarous ends to which they were made subservient, might degrade these virtues for ever in our esteem, if we did not recollect that energy is the gift of God, and the abuse of it the invention of man; and that genius and valour, even when employed to debase and oppress mankind, are not more justly obnoxious to reproach, than the wine which often wastes the strength it was given to restore, or the food which sometimes abridges the life it was meant to prolong. The inflexible pride and deliberate tyranny of these adventurers, their arrogant disregard of the rights of human nature, and calm survey of the desolation of empires and destruction of happiness and life, is rendered the more striking and instructive by the humility of their own original circumstances, which seemed to level and unite them by habit and sympathy with the mass of mankind. Whence we reasonably conclude, that the illusions of royalty are not indispensably requisite to distend the heart with pride and to harden it with cruelty, and that Pyrrhus and Alexander were composed of the same materials with Cortes and Pizarro. The conquests of the

[5] If some examples in the history of the world, and even in the colonization of (Northern) America, seem to dispute this position, they can only turn a universal into a general maxim.

BOOK I.

Spaniards were accomplished with such rapidity, and followed with such barbarous oppression, that a very few years sufficed not only entirely to subjugate, but almost wholly to extirpate, the slothful and effeminate idolaters whom it was the will of God to destroy by their hands. The settlements that were founded in the conquered countries produced, from the nature of the soil, a vast influx of gold and silver into Spain, and finally exercised a most pernicious influence on the liberty, industry, and prosperity of her people. But it was long before the bitter harvest of this golden shower was reaped; and in an age so ignorant of political science, it could not be foreseen through the pomp and renown with which the acquisition of so much empire, and the administration of so much treasure, seemed to invest the Spanish monarchy. The achievements of the original adventurers, embellished by the romantic genius of Spain, and softened by national partiality [6], had now occupied the pens of Spanish historians, and excited a thirst for similar projects, and hopes of similar enrichment in every nation where the tidings were made known. The study of the Spanish language, and the acquaintance with Spanish literature which the marriage of Philip and Mary introduced into England, awakened the more active spirits in this country to similar views and projects, and gave to the rising spirit of adventure a strong determination towards the continent of America.

Reign of Elizabeth.

The reign of Elizabeth was productive of the first attempts that the English had ever made to establish a permanent settlement in America. But many causes contributed to enfeeble their exertions for

[6] Truth is proverbially the daughter of Time; and the proverb has been remarkably verified by the progress of human opinion with respect to the conduct of the Spanish conquerors of South America. Some specimens of the ignorance that prevailed at a pretty late period in England on this subject will be found in Note II. at the end of the volume.

this purpose, and to retard the accomplishment of this great design. The civil government of Elizabeth in the commencement of her reign was highly acceptable to her subjects; and her commercial policy, though frequently perverted by the interests of arbitrary power, and the principles of a narrow and erroneous system, was in the main, perhaps, not less laudably designed than judiciously directed to the cultivation of their resources and the promotion of their prosperity. By permitting a free exportation of corn, she promoted at once the agriculture and the commerce of England; and by treaties with foreign powers, she endeavoured to establish commercial relations between their subjects and her own[7]. Sensible how much the strength and safety of the state and the prosperity of the people must depend on a naval force, she took every means to encourage navigation; and so much increased the shipping of the kingdom both by building large vessels herself, and by promoting ship-building among the merchants, that she was styled by her subjects the Restorer of naval glory, and the Queen of the northern seas[8]. Rigidly just in discharging the ancient debts of the crown, as well as in fulfilling all her own engagements, yet forbearing towards her people in the imposition of taxes; frugal in the expenditure of her resources, and yet evincing a steady vigour in the prosecution of well directed projects; the policy of her civil government at once conveyed the wisest lessons to

[7] She obtained from John Basilides, the czar of Muscovy, a patent which conferred the whole trade of his dominions on the English. With this grant the tyrant, who lived in continual dread of a revolt of his subjects, purchased from Elizabeth the assurance of an asylum from their fury in England. But his son Theodore revoked it, and answered to the queen's remonstrances, that he was determined to rob neither his own subjects nor foreigners by subjecting to monopolies what should be free to all mankind. Camden, p. 493. So superior was the commercial policy which natural justice taught this barbarian, to the system which Elizabeth derived from her boasted learning and renowned ability, and which loaded the freedom and industry of her people with patents, monopolies, and exclusive companies.

[8] Camden. Strype.

BOOK I.

her subjects, and happily concurred with the general frame of their sentiments and character. Perhaps there never was a human being (assuredly never a woman) so little amiable, who, as a sovereign, was so popular and so much respected.

Favourable to maritime adventure.

During a reign so favourable to commercial enterprise, the spirit that had been long growing up in the minds of the English was called forth into vigorous and persevering exertion. Under the patronage of Dudley, Earl of Warwick, and conducted by Martin Frobisher, an expedition was despatched for the discovery of a north-west passage to India: but after exploring the coasts of Labrador and Greenland, Frobisher was compelled to return with the

1578. tidings of disappointment. If the ardour of the English was damped by the result of this enterprise, it was quickly revived by the successful expedition of Sir Francis Drake, who, with a feeble squadron, undertook and accomplished the same enterprise that for sixty years had formed the peculiar glory of the Portuguese navigator Magellan, and obtained for England the honour of being the second nation that had completely circumnavigated the globe. A general enthusiasm was excited by this splendid achievement, and a passion for naval exploits laid hold of the spirits of almost all the eminent leaders of the age.

But still no project of effecting a permanent settlement abroad had been entertained or attempted in England. The happiness that was enjoyed by the subjects of Elizabeth enforced those attractions that bind the hearts of men to their native land, and which are rarely surmounted but by the experience of intolerable hardships at home, or the prospect of sudden enrichment abroad[9]. But the territory of

[9] "Who is he that hath judgment, courage, and any industry or quality, with understanding, will leave his country, his hopes at home, his certain estate, his

North America held out none of the allurements that had invited and rewarded the Spanish adventurers; it presented no hopes but of distant gain, and invited no exertions but of patient industry. The prevalence of the protestant doctrines in England, and the increasing influence of a sense of religion on the minds of the people, disinclined many to abandon the only country where the Reformation appeared to be securely established; engrossed the minds of others with schemes for the improvement of the constitution and ritual of their national church; and probably repressed in some ardent spirits the epidemical thirst of adventure, and reconciled them to that moderate competency which the state of society in England rendered easily attainable, and the simplicity of manners preserved from contempt. CHAP. I.

But if the immediate influence of religious principle was unfavourable to projects of emigration, it was to the further development of this noble principle that England was soon to be indebted for her greatest and most illustrious colonial establishment. The ecclesiastical policy of Elizabeth was far from giving the same general satisfaction that her civil government afforded to her subjects. Inheriting the arrogant temper, the lofty pretensions, and ambitious taste of her father, with little of his zeal and none of his bigotry, religious considerations often mingled with her policy; but religious sentiments had but little, if any, influence on her heart. Like him, she wished to adapt the establishments of christianity to the pomp and vanity of royalised human nature; and by a splendid hierarchy and gorgeous ceremonial, mediate an agreement between the loftiness of her heart and the humility of the gospel. But the per-

friends, pleasures, liberty, and the preferment that England doth afford to all degrees, were it not to advance his fortunes by enjoying his deserts?" Smith's Hist. of Virginia, &c. B. vi.

BOOK I.

secution that the English protestants had undergone from Mary had not only deepened and purified the religious sentiments of a great body of the people, but associated with many of the ceremonies retained in the national church the idea of popery and the recollection of persecution. This repugnance between the sentiments of the men who now began to be termed puritans, and the ecclesiastical policy of the English government, continued to increase during the whole reign of Elizabeth: but as the influence which it exercised on the colonization of America did not appear till the following reign, I shall defer the further account of it till we come to trace its effects in the rise and progress of the colonies of New England.

Rise of the slave trade.

During this reign, there was introduced into England a branch of that inhuman traffic in negro slaves, which afterwards engrossed so large a portion of her commercial wealth and adventure, and converted a numerous body of her merchants into a confederacy of robbers, and much of what she termed her *trade* into acts of deliberate fraud and atrocious violence. The first Englishman who brought this guilt upon himself and his country was Sir John Hawkins, who afterwards attained so much nautical celebrity, and was created an admiral and treasurer of the British navy. His father, an expert English seaman, having made several voyages to the coast of Guinea, and from thence to Brazil and the West Indies, had acquired considerable knowledge of these countries, which he transmitted to his son in the copious journals of his voyages and observations, which he left behind him at his death. In these compositions he described the soil of America and the West Indies as endowed with extraordinary richness and fertility, but utterly neglected from the want of cultivators. The natives of Europe were represented as unequal

to the toil of agriculture in so sultry a climate; but those of Africa as peculiarly well adapted to this employment. Forcibly struck with these remarks, Hawkins deduced from them the project of transporting Africans into the western world; and having drawn up a plan for the execution of this design, he laid it before some of his opulent neighbours, and solicited their approbation and concurrence. A subscription was opened and speedily completed by Sir Lionel Ducket, Sir Thomas Lodge, Sir William Winter, and others, who plainly perceived the vast emolument that might be derived from such a traffic. By their assistance Hawkins was enabled to set sail for Africa in the year 1562, and, having reached Sierra Leone [1], he began his commerce with the negroes. While he trafficked with them in the usual articles of barter, he took occasion to give them an inviting description of the country to which he was bound, contrasting the fertility of its soil and the enjoyments of its inhabitants with the barrenness of Africa and the poverty of the African tribes. Finding that the unsuspecting negroes listened to him with implicit belief, and were greatly delighted with the European luxuries and ornaments which he displayed to them, he offered, if any of them were willing to exchange their destitute circumstances for a happier condition, to transport them to this more bountiful region, where he assured them of a kind reception, and of an ample participation of the luxuries with which he had made them acquainted, as the certain recompense of easy labour. The negroes were ensnared by his flattering promises, and three hundred of them, accepting his offer, consented to embark along with him for Hispaniola.

[1] It is remarkable that this should be the very spot where, two centuries after, the most distinguished efforts of the English have been made to promote the liberty and happiness of the Africans.

BOOK I.

On the night before their embarkation, they were attacked by a hostile tribe; and Hawkins hastening with his crew to their assistance, repulsed the assailants, and carried a number of them as prisoners on board his vessels. The next day he set sail with his mixed cargo of human creatures, and during the passage treated the negroes who had voluntarily accompanied him in a different manner from his prisoners of war. On his arrival at Hispaniola he disposed of the whole cargo to great advantage, and endeavoured to inculcate on the Spaniards who bought the negroes, the same distinction in the treatment of them which he himself had observed. But having now put the fulfilment of his promises out of his own power, it was not permitted to him so to limit the evil consequences of his perfidy: and the Spaniards having purchased all the Africans at the same rate, considered them as slaves of the same condition, and consequently treated them all alike.

When Hawkins returned to England with a rich freight of pearls, sugar, and ginger, which he had received in exchange for his slaves, the success of his voyage excited universal interest and curiosity respecting this novel and extraordinary description of trade. At first the nation was shocked with the barbarous aspect of a traffic in the persons of men; and the public feeling having penetrated into the court, the queen sent for Hawkins to inquire in what manner this new branch of commerce was conducted; declaring to him that "if any of the Africans were carried away without their own consent, it would be detestable, and call down the vengeance of Heaven upon the undertakers." Hawkins, in reply, assured her that in no expedition where he had the command should any of the natives of Africa be carried away without their own free will and consent, except such captives as might be taken in war: and

he declared that so far from feeling any scruple concerning the justice of his undertaking, he considered it an act of humanity to carry men from a worse condition to a better; from a state of heathen barbarism to an opportunity of sharing the blessings of civil society and the christian religion. It is believed, indeed, and seems consonant with probability, that Hawkins, so far from intending that the negroes whom he sold should be consigned to a state of perpetual slavery, expected that they would be advanced to the condition of free servants whenever their labours had yielded to their masters an equivalent for the expense of their purchase. The queen appeared to be satisfied with his account, and dismissed him with the assurance that, while he and his associates acted with humanity and justice, they should enjoy her countenance and protection.

The very next voyage that Hawkins undertook, demonstrated still more clearly the deceitfulness of that unction which he had applied to his conscience, and the futility even of those intentions of which the fulfilment seemed to depend entirely on himself. In his passage he met with an English ship of war, which joined itself to the expedition, and accompanied him to the coast of Africa. On his arrival, he began as formerly to traffic with the negroes, and endeavoured, by reiteration of his former topics of persuasion, to induce them to embark in his vessels. But they had now become reserved and jealous of his designs, and as none of their neighbours had returned, they were apprehensive that the English had killed and devoured them; a supposition which, however offensive to the English, did greatly and erroneously extenuate the inhumanity of which they had been actually guilty. The crew of the ship of war, observing the Africans backward and suspicious, began to deride the gentle and dilatory methods of

BOOK I.

proceeding to which Hawkins confined himself, and proposed having immediate recourse to violence and compulsion. The sailors belonging to his own fleet joined with the crew of the man of war, and, applauding the proposal, began to make preparations for carrying it into effect. Hawkins protested against such unwarrantable cruelty, and vainly endeavoured to prevail on them to desist from their purpose: the instructions of the queen and the dictates of conscience were ineffectually cited to men whom he had initiated in piracy and injustice, and who were not able to discover the moral superiority of calm treachery over undisguised violence. They pursued their design, and after several unsuccessful attacks, in which many of them lost their lives, the cargo was at length completed by force and barbarity [2]. Such was the origin of the English branch of the slave trade, which I have related the more minutely, not only on account of the remarkable and instructive circumstances that attended the commencement of the practice [3], but on account of the influence which it subsequently exercised on the colonization and condition of some of the provinces of North America.

The spirit of adventure which had been excited in England found a more inviting scene for its exertion in the southern than in the northern regions of America: and when, after twenty years of peace, Elizabeth was involved in hostilities with Philip, the prospect of enrichment and renown by the plunder of the Spanish colonies opened a new career, which was eagerly embraced and successfully prosecuted by the enterprising spirit of adventurers of all ranks in England. Accordingly, for many years, the most eminent and popular exploits of the English were per-

[2] Hakluyt, iii. Hill's Naval History. Hewit's History of South Carolina and Georgia, vol. i. cap. 1.

[3] See Note I. at the end of the volume.

formed in the predatory wars which they waged with the colonies and colonial commerce of Spain. Even in scenes so unfavourable to the production or display of the better qualities of human nature, the manly character and moral superiority of the English were frequently and signally evinced. Drake and many others of the adventurers in the same career were men equally superior to avarice and fear, and who, how willing soever to encounter danger in quest of wealth, thought it not valuable enough to be obtained by cruelty or fraud.

And yet it was to this spirit, so unfavourable to industrious colonization, and so strongly attracted to a more congenial sphere in the south, that North America was indebted for the first attempt to colonize her territory. Thus irregular and incalculable (to created wisdom) is the influence of human passions on the stream of human affairs.

Sir Walter Raleigh—

The most illustrious adventurer in England was Sir Walter Raleigh, a man endowed with brilliant genius, unbounded ambition, and unconquerable activity; whose capacious mind, strongly impregnated with the enthusiasm, credulity, and sanguine expectation peculiar to the age, no single project, however vast, could fill, and whose ardent spirit no single enterprise, however arduous, could absorb. The extent of his capacity combined acquirements that are commonly esteemed remote, and almost incompatible with each other. He was, at once, the most industrious scholar and the most accomplished courtier of his age; a profound and indefatigable projector, yet a gallant soldier; so contemplative (says an old writer) that he might have been judged unfit for action; so active that he seemed to have no leisure for speculation[4]. Whatever was sublime and bril-

[4] Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 672.

BOOK I.

liant, touched his kindred soul; and whatever he undertook, he seemed to have been born for. Uncontrolled by steady principle and sober calculation, his fancy and his passions so far prevailed over his moral sentiments, as sometimes to sully his character[5], and something of the boundless and transcendent so mingled with his designs, as frequently to mar his conduct, and discomfit his undertakings. But, though adversity might cloud his fortunes, it could never depress his spirit, or strip his genius of a single ray. The frustration of his efforts and the wreck of his projects served only to display the exhaustless opulence and indestructible vigour of that mind, of which no accumulation of disaster nor variety of discouragement could either repress the ardour or narrow the range. Amidst disappointment and impoverishment, pursued by royal hatred, and forsaken by his popularity, he continued to project and attempt the foundation of empires; and in old age and a prison he composed the History of the World. Perhaps there never was a distinguished reputation so much indebted to genius, and so little to success. So powerful indeed is the association that connects merit with success, and yet so strong the claim of Raleigh to evade the censure that this rule implies, that it is with the greatest difficulty that, even amidst uninterrupted disaster, we can bring ourselves to consider him an unsuccessful man. He had unfortunately adopted the maxim that "whatever is not extraordinary, is nothing[6];" and his mind (till the

[5] One of the most formidable charges to which the character of Raleigh has been exposed is derived from the monstrous fictions with which his account of Guiana is replete. But Hume and the other writers who have loaded him with the guilt of these fictions have very unfairly omitted to notice that not one of them is related on his own authority. He has merely repeated (no doubt in a manner very little creditable to his own judgment) the fables that were related to him by the natives with whom he conversed. Savages and barbarians are very prone to practise such deceits upon travellers. The Barbary Moors not only described a petrified city to Bruce, but persisted in their story till they came near to the place.

[6] Lloyd, 671. This will remind the classical reader of the vision of

last scene of his life) was not sufficiently pervaded by religion to recognize that nobility of purpose which ennobles the commonest actions, and directs to the attainment of a dignity that consists less in performing things great in themselves, than in doing ordinary things with an extraordinary elevation of soul. Whatever judgment may be formed of his character, we must acknowledge that in genius he was worthy of the honour which he may perhaps be considered to have attained, of originating the settlements that grew up into the North American republic.

projects a colony in North America.

In conjunction with his half-brother and kindred spirit, Sir Humphry Gilbert, Raleigh projected the establishment of a colony in that quarter of America which Cabot had visited; and a patent for this purpose was procured without difficulty in favour of Gilbert, from Elizabeth. This patent authorized him to discover and appropriate all remote and barbarous lands unoccupied by christian powers, and to hold them of the crown of England, with the obligation of paying the fifth part of the produce of all gold or silver mines: it permitted the subjects of Elizabeth to accompany the expedition[7], and guaranteed to them a continuance of the enjoyment of all the rights of free denizens of England; it invested

1578.

aliquid immensum infinitumque, that warmed the fancy of Cicero, but could not actuate his disposition or influence his conduct with the same power which it exerted over the conceptions, the undertakings, and the fortunes of Raleigh. To the Englishman may, with equal justice, be applied that beautiful apostrophe to the memory of the Roman—"admirabile posteris vigebis ingenium; et uno proscriptus sæculo, proscribes *tyrannum* omnibus."

7 Strange as it may appear, this provision was absolutely necessary to evade the obstructions of the existing law of England. By the ancient law, as declared in the Great Charter of King John, all men might go freely out of the kingdom, saving their faith due to the king. But no such clause appears in the charter of his successor; and during the reign of Elizabeth it was enacted, that any subject departing the realm without a licence under the Great Seal should forfeit his personal estate, and lose the profits of his lands for life. 13 Eliz. cap. III. Even now, a king of England may enjoin any of his subjects not to leave the kingdom, or having left it to return, and enforce his injunction by the severest penalties.

BOOK I.

Gilbert with the powers of civil and criminal legislation over all the inhabitants of the territory he might occupy; but with this provision, that his laws should be framed with as much conformity as possible to the statutes and policy of England, and should not derogate from the supreme allegiance due to the English crown. The endurance of this patent, in so far as related to the appropriation of territory, was limited to six years; and all persons were prohibited from establishing themselves within two hundred leagues of any spot which the adventurers might occupy during that period[8].

The extraordinary powers thus committed to the leader of the expedition did not prevent the accession of a numerous body of subordinate adventurers. Gilbert had gained distinction by his services both in France and Ireland; and the weight of his character concurring with the spirit of the times, and powerfully aided by the zeal of Raleigh, whose admirable genius peculiarly fitted him to obtain an ascendant over the minds of men, and to spread the contagion of his own enthusiasm, soon collected a sufficient body of associates, and effected the equipment of the first expedition of British emigrants to America. But in the composition of this body there were elements very ill fitted to establish an infant society on a solid or respectable basis; the officers were disunited, the crew licentious and ungovernable; and happily for the credit of England, it was not the will of Providence that the adventurers should gain a footing in any new region. Gilbert approaching the continent too far towards the north, was dismayed by the inhospitable aspect of the coast of Cape Breton; his largest vessel was shipwrecked; and two voyages, in the last of which he himself perished, finally ter-

First expedition fails. 1580.

[8] Stith's History of Virginia, p. 4. Hazard, p. 24.

minated in the frustration of the enterprise and dispersion of the adventurers[9].

But the ardour of Raleigh, neither daunted by difficulties nor damped by miscarriage, and continually refreshed by the suggestions of a fertile and uncurbed imagination, was incapable of abandoning a project that had gained his favour and exercised his genius. Applying to the queen, in whose esteem he then held a distinguished place, he easily prevailed with her to grant him a patent, in all respects similar to that which had been previously intrusted to Gilbert[1]. Not less prompt in executing than intrepid 1584. in projecting his schemes, Raleigh quickly despatched two small vessels commanded by Amadas and Barlow, to visit the districts he intended to occupy, and to examine the accommodations of their coasts, the productions of the soil, and the circumstances of the inhabitants. These officers, avoiding the error of Gilbert in holding too far north, steered their course by the Canaries, and, approaching the North American continent by the Gulf of Florida, anchored in Roanoak bay, which now makes a part of Carolina. Worthy of the trust reposed in them, they behaved with great courtesy to the inhabitants, whom they found living in all the rude independence and labourless, but hardy, simplicity of savage life, and of whose hospitality, as well as of the mildness of the climate and fertility of the soil, they published the most flattering accounts on their return to England. The intelligence diffused general satisfaction, and was so

[9] Hakluyt, iii. 143. Hakluyt has preserved (p. 11) a very masterly performance from the pen of Sir Humphry Gilbert, entitled "A Discourse to prove a passage by the north-west, to the East Indies," &c. The style of this treatise places this author on a level with the most distinguished writers of his age. In the House of Commons he was highly admired for his eloquence, and not less esteemed for his patriotism and integrity. The most admirable feature in his character was his strong and fervent piety. In the extremity of danger at sea, he was observed sitting unmoved in the stern of his ship with a Bible in his hand, and often heard to say, "Courage, my lads! we are as near heaven at sea as at land."

[1] Stith, p. 8. Hazard, p. 33.

BOOK I.

agreeable to Elizabeth, that, in exercise of the parentage she proposed to assume over the country, and as a memorial that this acquisition originated with a virgin queen, she thought proper to bestow on it the name of Virginia[2].

Elizabeth names the country Virginia.

This encouraging prospect not only quickened the diligence of Raleigh, but, by its influence on the public mind, enabled him the more rapidly to complete his preparations for a permanent settlement; and he was soon enabled to equip and despatch a squadron of seven ships under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, one of the most generous spirits of the time, and eminent for valour in the age of the brave. But this gallant leader unfortunately was more infected with the spirit of predatory enterprise then so prevalent among the English, than endued with the qualities which his peculiar duty required; and commencing his expedition by cruising among the West India islands and capturing the vessels of Spain, he familiarized his followers to habits and views very remote from pacific industry, patience, and moderation. At length he landed a hundred and eight men[3] at Roanoak, and left them there to attempt, as they best could, the arduous task of founding and maintaining a social establishment. The command of this feeble body was committed to Captain Lane, assisted by some persons of note; of whom the most eminent were Amadas, who had conducted the former voyage, and Thomas Heriot, the celebrated improver of algebraical calculation, a man whose sense and virtue might have saved the colony, if they had been shared by his associates, and whose unremitted endeavours to instruct the savages, and diligent inquiries into their habits and character, by

Grenville despatched by Raleigh—

Aug. 1585. establishes a colony at Roanoak.

[2] Smith's Hist. B. i.

[3] Smith, B. i. Robertson has erroneously stated the number at a hundred and eighty.

adding to the stock of human knowledge, and by extending the example of virtue, rendered the expedition not wholly unproductive of benefit to mankind, and honour to their Creator. The selection of such a man to accompany and partake the enterprise reflects additional honour on his friend and patron Ralcigh. Heriot endeavoured to avail himself of the admiration expressed by the savages for the guns, the clock, the telescopes, and other implements that attested the superiority of the colonists, in order to lead their minds to the great Source of all sense and science. But while they hearkened to his instructions, they accommodated their import to their own depraved notions of Divine Nature; they acknowledged that the God of the strangers was more powerful and more beneficent to his people than the deities they served, and discovered a great anxiety to touch and embrace the Bible, and apply it to their breasts and heads[4]. In the hands of an artful or superstitious priest, such practices and dispositions would probably have produced a plentiful crop of pretended miracles and imaginary cures, and terminated in an exchange of superstition, instead of a renovation of nature. But Heriot was incapable of flattering or deceiving the savages by encouraging their idolatry and merely changing its direction: he laboured to convince them that salvation was to be attained by acquaintance with the contents of the Bible, and not by an ignorant veneration of the exterior of the book. By these labours, which were too soon interrupted, and which have obtained but little notice from the historians of the visible kingdoms of this world, he succeeded in making such impression on the minds of the Indians, that Win-

4 Heriot, *apud* Smith, B. i. p. 11. Heriot has not escaped the imputation of deism. But from this charge he was defended by Bishop Corbet, who declared that "Heriot's deep mine was without dross." Stith, p. 20.

BOOK I. gina, the king, when attacked by a severe disorder, rejected the assistance of his own priests, and sent to beg the attendance and prayers of the English; and his example was followed by many of his subjects[5].

But unfortunately for the stability of the settlement, the majority of the colonists were much less distinguished by piety or prudence than by a vehement impatience to acquire sudden wealth: their first pursuit was gold; and smitten with the persuasion that every part of America was pervaded by the mines that enriched the Spanish colonies, their chief efforts were directed to the discovery and attainment of treasures that happily had no existence. The natives soon discovering the object which they sought with such avidity, amused them with tales of a neighbouring country abounding in mines, and where pearl was so plentiful, that even the walls of the houses glittered with it[6]. Eagerly listening to these agreeable fictions, the adventurers consumed their time and endured amazing hardships in pursuit of a phantom, to the utter neglect of the means of providing for their future subsistence. The detection of the imposture produced mutual suspicion and disgust between them and the savages, and finally led to open enmity and acts of bloodshed. The stock of provisions brought from England was exhausted; the additional supplies they had been taught to expect did not arrive; and the hostility of the Indians left them no other dependence than on the precarious resources of the woods and rivers. Thus straitened for provisions and surrounded by enemies, the colonists were reduced to the extremity of distress and danger, when a prospect of deliverance was unexpectedly presented to them by the arrival of Sir Francis Drake with a fleet which he was con-

Misfortunes of the colonists—

[5] Heriot, *apud.* Smith B. i. p. 11. [6] Smith, B. i. p. 6.

ducting home from a successful expedition against the Spaniards in the West Indies. Drake agreed to furnish them with a reinforcement to their numbers, and a liberal supply of provisions; and if this had been effected, it seems probable that, from the ample aid soon after transmitted by Raleigh, the colonists might have been able to maintain their footing in America. But Drake's intentions were frustrated by a violent storm which carried out to sea the very ship which he had freighted with these necessary supplies. And as he could not afford to weaken his fleet by a further contribution for their defence or subsistence, the adventurers, now completely exhausted and discouraged, unanimously determined to abandon the country. In compliance with their united request, Drake accordingly received them on board his vessels, and reconducted them to England[7]. Such was the abortive issue of the first colony planted by the English in America.

their return.

1586.

Of the political consequences that resulted from this expedition, the catalogue, though not very copious, is by no means devoid of interest. An important accession was made to the scanty stock of knowledge respecting North America; the spirit of mining adventure received a signal check; and the use of tobacco, already introduced by the Spaniards and Portuguese into other parts of Europe, was now imported into England. This herb the Indians esteemed their principal medicine[8], and ascribed its virtues to the inhabitation of one of those spiritual beings which they supposed to reside in all the extraordinary productions of nature. Lane and his associates, acquiring a relish for its properties, brought a quantity of tobacco with them to England, and taught the use of it to their countrymen. Raleigh eagerly adopted, and with the help of some young

Use of tobacco introduced in England.

[7] Smith, B. i. p. 9.

[8] Heriot ap. Smith, p. 10.

BOOK I.

men of fashion, encouraged the practice, which soon established and spread itself with a vigour that outran the help of courtiers, and defied the hinderance of kings, and, creating a new and almost universal appetite in human nature, formed an important source of revenue to England, and multiplied the ties that united Europe with America[9].

But the disasters that attended this unsuccessful undertaking did not terminate with the return of Lane and his followers to England. A few days after their departure from Roanoak, a vessel, despatched by Raleigh, reached the evacuated settlement with a plentiful supply of whatever they could require; and only a fortnight after this bark set sail to return from its fruitless voyage, a still stronger reinforcement of men and provisions arrived in three ships equipped by Raleigh, and commanded by Sir Richard Grenville. Disappointed of meeting the vessel that had preceded him, and unable to obtain any tidings of the colony, yet unwilling to abandon the possession of the country, Grenville landed fifty men at Roanoak, and leaving them in possession of an ample supply of provisions, returned to England to communicate the state of affairs and obtain further directions[1].

Farther efforts of Raleigh—

This succession of disasters excited much gloomy speculation and superstitious surmise in England[2], but could neither vanquish the hopes nor exhaust

1587. the resources of Raleigh. In the following year he fitted out and despatched three ships under the command of Captain White, with directions to join the small body that Grenville had established at Roan-

[9] In the year 1622, that is, thirty-six years after its first introduction into England, and seven years after its first cultivation in an English colony, the annual import of tobacco into England amounted to an hundred and forty-two thousand and eighty-five pounds weight. Stith, p. 246. Yet this quantity appears quite insignificant when compared with the present consumption of tobacco in Britain.

[1] Smith, B. i. p. 13. [2] Ibid.

oak, and thence to transfer the settlement to the bay of Chesapeak, of which the superior advantages had been discovered in the preceding year by Lane. A charter of incorporation was granted to White and twelve of his more eminent associates, as Governor and Assistants of the city of Raleigh, in Virginia. Instructed by the calamities that had befallen the former expeditions, more efficacious means were adopted in the equipment of this squadron for preserving and continuing the colony. The stock of provisions was more abundant; the number of men greater, and the means of recruiting their numbers afforded by a competent intermixture of women. But the full extent of the preceding calamities had yet to be learned: and on landing at Roanoak in quest of the detachment that Grenville had placed there, White and his companions could find no other trace of them than the significant memorial presented by a ruined fort and a parcel of scattered bones[3]. The apprehensions excited by this melancholy spectacle were confirmed by the intelligence of a friendly native, who informed them that their countrymen had fallen victims to the enmity of the Indians. Instructed rather than discouraged by this calamity, they endeavoured to effect a reconciliation with the savages; and, determining to remain at Roanoak, they proceeded to repair the houses and revive the colony. One of the natives was baptized into the christian faith, and, retaining an unshaken attachment to the English, contributed his efforts to pacify and conciliate his countrymen[4]. But finding themselves destitute of many articles which they judged essential to their comfort and preservation in a country covered with forests and peopled only by a few scattered tribes of savages, the colonists deputed their governor to solicit for them the requisite supplies; and White proceeded for this

[3] Smith, i. 13.

[4] Ibid. 13, 14.

BOOK I.

purpose to England. On his voyage thither, he touched at a port in Ireland, where he is said to have left some specimens of the potatoe plant which he had brought with him from America. But whether this memorable importation was due to him, or, as some writers have maintained, to certain of the earlier associates of Raleigh's adventures, it must be acknowledged that to the enterprise of Raleigh and the soil of America Great Britain is indebted for her acquaintance with the potatoe, and with tobacco, the staple article of diet, and the most cherished as well as most innocent luxury of a great proportion of her people.

White arrived at a juncture the most unfavourable for the success of his mission. All England was now engrossed with the more immediate concern of self-preservation: the formidable armada of Spain was preparing to invade her, and the whole naval and military resources of the empire were under requisition for the purposes of national defence. The hour of his country's danger could not fail to find ample employment for the generous spirit of Raleigh: yet he mingled with his distinguished efforts to repel the enemy some exertions for the preservation of the colony he had planted. For this purpose, he had with his usual promptitude equipped a small squadron which he committed to the conduct of Sir Richard Grenville, when the queen interposed to detain the ships of force, and to prohibit Grenville
1588. from leaving England at such a crisis. White, however, was enabled to reimbark for America with two vessels; but yielding to the temptation of trying his fortune by the way, in a cruise against the Spaniards, he was beaten by a superior force, and totally disabled from pursuing his voyage. The colony at
terminate unsuccessfully. Roanoak was therefore left to depend on its own feeble resources, which probably the hope of foreign

succour contributed to render the less available. What its fate was may be easily guessed, but never was known. An expedition conducted by White in the following year found the territory evacuated of the colonists; and no further tidings of their destiny were ever obtained[5]. CHAP. I. 1589.

This last expedition was not despatched by Raleigh, but by his successors in the American patent. And our history is now to take leave of that illustrious man, with whose schemes and enterprises it ceases to have any further connexion. The ardour of his mind was not exhausted, but diverted by a multiplicity of new and not less arduous undertakings. Intent on peopling and improving a large district in Ireland which the queen had conferred on him; involved in the conduct of a scheme, and expense of an armament for establishing Don Antonio on the throne of Portugal; and already revolving his last and wildest project of an expedition for the discovery of mines in Guiana; it became impossible for him to continue the attention and prolong the efforts he had devoted to his Virginia colony. Desirous, at the same time, that a project which he had carried so far should not be entirely abandoned, and hoping that the spirit of commerce would preserve an intercourse with Virginia that might terminate in a colonial establishment, he consented to assign his patent to Sir Thomas Smith, and a company of merchants in London, who undertook to establish and maintain a traffic between England and Virginia[6]. The patent which he thus transferred had already cost him the enormous sum of 40,000*l*., without affording him the slightest return of pecuniary profit: yet the only personal consideration for which he stipulated with

5 Smith, i. 15, 16. Stith, 24. Williamson's History of North Carolina, i. 56.

6 Hazard, p. 42.

BOOK I.

the assignees was a small share of whatever gold or silver ore they might eventually discover. It is impossible to consider the fate of this his earliest and most illustrious project—the unrivalled genius to which it owed its conception—the steady vigour with which it was pursued—the insurmountable patience with which it was revived from disaster and disappointment—and the surprising train of incidents by which the design was so often baffled, and success only brought so near, that it might seem as if by some fatality to elude his grasp, without acknowledging that the course of this world is overruled by a higher Power than the wisdom of man, and that human exertion has, in itself, no efficiency to accomplish its designs. The same Almighty Being that enables created agency to advance a certain length, enjoins that it prevail no farther; and is glorified alike by the magnitude of human efforts, and the failure of human designs.

It appeared very soon that Raleigh had transferred his patent to hands very different from his own. The last mentioned expedition, which was productive of nothing but tidings of the destruction of those adventurers whom White had conducted, was the most considerable effort that the London company performed. Satisfied with a paltry traffic carried on by a few small vessels, they made no attempt to take possession of the country: and at the period of Elizabeth's death, not a single Englishman was settled in America. The exertions of Raleigh, however, had united the views and hopes of his countrymen, by a strong association, with settlements in Virginia, and given a bias to the national mind which only the encouragement of more favourable circumstances was wanting to develop. But the war with Spain, that endured till the close of Elizabeth's reign, allured men of enterprise and activity into the career of

predatory adventure, and obstructed the formation of peaceable and commercial settlements. CHAP. I.

The accession of James to the English crown was, by a singular coincidence, an event no less favourable to the colonization of America, than fatal to the illustrious projector of this design. Peace was immediately concluded with Spain; and England, in the enjoyment of uninterrupted tranquillity, was enabled to direct to more bloodless pursuits the energies matured in a war which had strongly excited the spirit of the nation without impairing its strength. From the inability of government in that age to collect and blend all the resources and wield with its own hand all the disposable force of the empire, war was chiefly productive of a series of partial efforts and privateering expeditions, which widely diffused the allurements of ambition, and multiplied the opportunities of advancement. This had been remarkably exemplified in the war with Spain; and many ardent spirits to which it had supplied opportunities of animating exertion and flattering ascendancy became impatient of the restraint and inactivity to which the peace consigned them, and began to look abroad for a new sphere of enterprise and exertion. 1603. Accession of James to the English crown.

The prevalence of this disposition naturally led to a revival of the projects for colonizing North America, and was the more readily guided into that direction by the success of a voyage that had been undertaken in the last year of Elizabeth's reign. Bartholomew Gosnold, who planned and performed this voyage in a small vessel containing only thirty men, was led by his experience in navigation to suspect that the right track had not yet been discovered, and that in steering by the Canary Islands and the Gulf of Florida, a circuit of at least a thousand leagues was unnecessarily made. In prosecution of this conjecture, he abandoned the southern Gosnold's voyage.

BOOK I.

track, and, steering more to the westward, was the first who reached America by this directer course. He found himself further north than any of Raleigh's colonists had gone, and, landing in the region which now forms the province of Massachussetts [7] bay, he carried on an advantageous trade with the natives, and freighted his vessel with abundance of rich peltry. He visited two adjacent islands, one of which he named Martha's Vineyard, the other Elizabeth's Island. The aspect of the country appeared so inviting, and the climate so salubrious, that twelve of the crew at first determined to remain there: but reflecting on the melancholy fate of the colonists at Roanoak, their resolution failed; and the whole party reluctantly quitting this agreeable quarter, returned to England after an absence of less than four months [8].

its effects.

The report of this voyage produced a strong impression on the public mind, and led to important consequences. Gosnold had discovered a route that greatly shortened the voyage to North America, and found a healthy climate, a fertile soil, and a coast abounding with excellent harbours. He had seen many fruits esteemed in Europe growing plentifully in the woods; and having sown some European grain, had found it grow with rapidity and vigour. Encouraged by his success, and perhaps not insensible to the hope of finding gold and silver or some new and lucrative subject of commerce in the unexplored interior of so fine a country, he endeavoured to procure associates in an undertaking to transport a colony to America. Similar plans began to be formed

[7] He appears to have been the second Englishman who landed in New England. The first was Sir Francis Drake, who remained there a few days and traded with the natives in his return from the West Indies in 1586. It is even said that Drake persuaded one of the Indian chiefs of that region to declare his territories subject to queen Elizabeth. Oldmixon's Brit. Emp. in Amer. i. 25.

[8] Purchas, iv. 1647. Smith, B. i. p. 16, &c. Stith, p. 30, &c.

in various parts of the kingdom; but the spirit of adventure was controlled by a salutary caution awakened by the recollection of past disappointments. CHAP. I.

These projects were powerfully aided by the judicious counsel and zealous encouragement of Richard Hakluyt, prebendary of Westminster, a man of eminent attainments in naval and commercial knowledge, the patron and counsellor of many of the English expeditions of discovery, the correspondent of the leaders who conducted them, and the historian of the exploits they gave rise to. By his persuasion [9] two vessels were fitted out by the merchants of Bristol, and despatched to examine the discoveries of Gosnold, and verify his statements. They returned with an ample confirmation of his veracity. A similar expedition was equipped and despatched by Lord Arundel of Wardour [1], which not only produced additional testimony to the same effect, but reported so many additional particulars in favour of the country, that all doubts were removed; and an association sufficiently numerous, wealthy, and powerful, to attempt a settlement being soon formed, a petition was presented to the king for his sanction of the plan and the interposition of his authority towards its execution. 1603. 1605.

The attention of James had been already directed to the advantages that might be derived from colonies, at the time when he attempted to civilize the more barbarous clans of his ancient subjects by planting detachments of industrious traders in the Highlands of Scotland [2]. Well pleased to resume a favourite speculation, and willing to encourage a scheme that opened a safe and peaceful career to the active genius of his new subjects, he listened readily to the

[9] Smith, i. 18. [1] Ib. 19, 20.
[2] Robertson's Hist. of Scotland, B. viii.

BOOK I.

application, and, highly commending the plan, acceded to the wishes of its projectors. Letters patent were issued to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt, and their associates, granting to them those territories in America lying on the sea-coast between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude, together with all islands situated within a hundred miles of their shores. The design of the patentees is declared to be "to make habitation, plantation, and to deduce a colony of sundry of our people into that part of America commonly called Virginia;" and, as the main recommendation of the design, it is set forth, that "so noble a work may, by the providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the glory of his Divine Majesty, in propagating of christian religion to such people as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God, and may in time bring the infidels and savages living in those parts to human civility, and to a settled and quiet government." The patentees were required to divide themselves into two distinct companies, the one consisting of London adventurers, termed the first or southern colony; the second or northern colony composed of merchants belonging to Plymouth and Bristol. The territory appropriated to the first or southern colony was generally called Virginia, and retained that appellation after the second or northern colony obtained, in 1614, the name of New England. The adventurers were authorised to transport to their respective territories as many English subjects as should be willing to accompany them, and to make shipments of arms and provisions for their use, with exemption from customs for the space of seven years. The colonists and their children were to enjoy the same liberties and privileges in the American settlements as if

April, 1606. James divides North America between two companies—

tenor of their charters.

they had remained or were born in England [3]. The administration of each of the colonies was committed to two boards of council; the supreme government being vested in a board resident in England, to be nominated by the king, and directed by such ordinances as he might enact for their use; and the subordinate jurisdiction devolving on a colonial council equally indebted to the appointment and subjected to the instructions of the king. Liberty to search for and open mines (which, under all the feudal governments, were supposed to have been originally reserved by the sovereign), was conferred on the colonists, with an appropriation of part of the produce to the crown; and the more valuable privilege of unrestrained liberty of trade with other nations was also extended to them. The president and council within the colonies were authorised to levy duties on foreign commodities, which, for twenty-one years, were to be applied to the use of the adventurers, and afterwards to be paid into the royal exchequer [4].

The terms of this charter strongly illustrate both the character of the monarch who granted, and the designs of the persons who procured it. Neither of these parties seems to have intended or foreseen the foundation of a great and opulent society. The arbitrary spirit of the royal granter is discernible in the subjection of the emigrant body to a corporation in which they were not represented, and over whose deliberations they had no control. There is likewise

[3] This provision (whether suggested by the caution of the prince or the apprehension of the colonists) occurs in almost all the colonial charters. It is, however, omitted in the most accurate of them all, the charter of Pennsylvania, which was attentively revised and adjusted by that eminent lawyer the Lord Keeper Guildford. When King William was about to renew the charter of Massachusetts, after the Revolution, he was advised by the ablest lawyers in England that such a provision was nugatory; the law necessarily inferring that the colonists were Englishmen, and both entitled to the rights and burdened with the duties attached to that character. Chalmers' Annals, p. 15.

[4] Stith, p. 35, and Append. p. 1. Hazard, p. 50.

BOOK I.

a manifest inconsistency between the reservation to the colonists of all the privileges of Englishmen, and the assumption of legislative power by the king, the control of whose legislative functions constitutes the most valuable political privilege that Englishmen enjoy. But we have no reason to suppose that the charter was unacceptable to the patentees; on the contrary, its most objectionable provisions are not more congenial to the character of the king than conformable to the views which the leading members of that body plainly appear to have adopted. Their object (notwithstanding the more liberal designs professed in the charter) was rather to explore the continent and appropriate its treasures by the agency of a body of adventurers over whom they retained a complete control, than to establish a permanent and extensive settlement. The instructions to the colonial governors which accompanied the second shipment sent out by the London company demonstrated (very disagreeably to the wiser emigrants, and very injuriously to the rest), that the chief objects of their concern were not patient industry and colonization, but territorial discovery and immediate gain[5]. In furtherance of these views they took care, by mixing no women with the first emigrants, to retain the colony in dependence upon England for its supplies of men, and to give free scope to the cupidity and the roving spirit of minds undivided by the hopes and unfixed by the comforts and attachments of domestic life.

Lightly as we must esteem the wisdom and liberality of James's institutions, it will enhance our estimate of the difficulty of his task, and abate our censure of his performance, if we compare him as a maker of constitutions with the most eminent philosopher that England has produced, aided too by the knowledge and experience of an additional century. The ma-

[5] Smith, B. iii. cap. vii.

terials for this judgment will be supplied when the progress of our history shall have reached the settlement of Carolina: but I will venture to anticipate it by affirming, that, unfortunately for the credit of philosophy, the production of James will rather gain than lose by comparison with the performance of Locke.

The king appears to have been more honestly occupied with genuine colonizing ideas than the patentees. While their leaders were employed in making preparations to secure the benefits of their grant, James was assiduously engaged in the task, which his vanity rendered a rich enjoyment, and the well guarded liberties of England a rare one, of digesting a code of laws for the colonies that were about to be planted. This code being at length prepared, was issued under the sign manual and privy seal of England. It enjoined the preaching of the gospel and the observance of divine worship, in conformity with the doctrines and rites of the church of England. The legislative and executive powers within the colonies were vested in the colonial councils; but with this important provision, that laws originating there should in substance be consonant to the English laws, that they should continue in force only till modified or repealed by the king or the supreme council in England, and that their penal inflictions should not extend to death or demembration. Persons attempting to withdraw the people from their allegiance to the English crown were to be imprisoned; or, in cases highly aggravated, to be remitted for trial to England. Tumults, mutiny, and rebellion, murder and incest, were to be punished with death; and for these the criminal was to be tried by a jury. Inferior crimes were to be punished in a summary way at the discretion of the president and council. Lands were to

Royal code of laws. Nov. 1606.

BOOK I. be holden by the same tenures that were established in England; but for five years after the settlement of each colony, a community of labour and gains was to have place among the colonists. Kindness to the heathen, and the communication of religious instruction to them, were enjoined. And finally, a power was reserved to the king and his successors to enact further laws, provided they should be consistent with the jurisprudence of England [6].

These regulations in the main are creditable to the sovereign who enacted them. No attempt was made nor right pretended to legislate for the Indian tribes; and if the ancient territories, which they rather claimed than occupied, were appropriated and disposed of without any regard to their pretensions, at least, no jurisdiction was assumed over their actions, and, in point of personal liberty, they were regarded as an independent people. This was an advance in equity beyond the practice of the Spaniards, and the ideas of queen Elizabeth, whose patents asserted the jurisdiction of the English crown and of the colonial laws over the old as well as the new inhabitants of her projected colonies. In the criminal legislation of this code, we may observe a distinction which trial by jury has enabled to prevail over that ingenious and perhaps necessary principle of ancient colonial policy, which intrusted the proconsular governors with the power of inflicting death, but restrained them from awarding less formidable penalties, as more likely to give scope to the operation of interest or caprice. If the charter evinced a total disregard of political liberty, the code, by introducing trial by jury, interwove with the very origin of society a habit and practice well adapted to keep alive the spirit and principles of freedom.

[6] Stith, p. 37.

The London company to which the plantation of the southern colony was committed applied themselves immediately to the formation of a settlement. But though many persons of distinction were included among the proprietors, their funds at first were scanty, and their first efforts proportionally feeble. Three small vessels, of which the largest did not exceed a hundred tons burthen[7], under the command of Captain Newport, formed the first squadron that was to execute what had been so long and so vainly attempted, and sailed with a hundred and five men destined to remain in America. Several of these were of distinguished families, particularly George Percy, a brother of the Earl of Northumberland; and several were officers of reputation, of whom we may notice Bartholomew Gosnold the navigator, and Captain John Smith, one of the most remarkable persons of an age that was prolific of memorable men.

CHAP. I.

The first body of colonists embarked by the London company.—Dec. 1606.

Thus at length, after a research fraught with perplexity and disappointment, but I hope not devoid of interest, into the sources of the great transatlantic commonwealth, we have reached the first inconsiderable spring, whose progress, feebly opposed to innumerable obstructions, and nearly diverted in its very outset, yet always continuous, expands under the eye of patient inquiry into the majestic stream of American population. After the lapse of a hundred and ten years from the discovery of the continent by Cabot, and twenty-two years after its first occupation by Raleigh, were the number of the English colonists limited to a hundred and five; and this handful of men proceeded to execute the arduous task of peopling a remote and uncultivated land, covered with woods and marshes, and inhabited only by tribes of savages and beasts of prey. Under the

[7] Smith, B. iii. p. 41.

BOOK I.

sanction of a charter which bereaved Englishmen of their most valuable rights, and banished from the American constitution the first principles of liberty, were the foundations laid of the colonial greatness of England, and of the freedom and prosperity of America. From this period, or at least very shortly after, a regular and connected history arises out of the progress of Virginia and New England, the two eldest-born colonies, by whose example all the others were engendered, and under whose shelter they were successively planted and reared [8].

Newport and his squadron, pursuing for some unknown reason the ancient circuitous track to America, did not accomplish their voyage in a shorter period than four months; but its termination was rendered peculiarly fortunate by the effect of a storm which overruled their destination to Roanoak, and carried them into the bay of Chesapeak. As they advanced into the bay that seemed to invite their approach, they beheld all the advantages of this spacious haven, replenished by the waters of so many great rivers that fertilize the soil of that extensive district of America, and affording commodious inlets into the interior parts, facilitate their foreign commerce and mutual communication. Newport first landed on a promontory forming the southern boundary of the bay, which, in honour of the Prince of Wales, he named Cape Henry. Thence coasting the southern shore, he entered a river which the natives called Powhatan, and explored its banks for the space of forty miles from its mouth. Strongly impressed with the superior advantages of the coast

April, 1607. arrive in the bay of Chesapeak—

[8] It is only, or at least generally, their accomplishment, which produces the historical predictions of poetry. The subsequent progress of America has enabled one of her scholars to direct our attention to this stage of her history, in the following lines:—

"Ingenium, pietas, artes, ac bellica virtus,
Hùc profugæ venient, et regna illustria condent;
Et domina his Virtus erit, et Fortuna ministra."

and region to which they had been thus happily conducted, the adventurers unanimously determined to make this the place of their abode. They gave to their infant settlement, as well as to the neighbouring river, the name of their king; and James-Town retains the distinction of being the oldest existing habitation of the English in America[9]. CHAP. I. 1607. found James-Town.

But the dissensions that broke out among the colonists soon threatened to deprive them of all the advantages of their well-selected station. Their animosities were powerfully inflamed by an arrangement which, if it did not originate with the king, at least evinces a strong affinity to that ostentatious mystery and driftless artifice which he affected as the perfection of political dexterity. The names of the colonial council were not communicated to the adventurers when they departed from England; but the commission which contained them was inclosed in a sealed packet, which was directed to be opened within twenty-four hours after their arrival on the coast of Virginia, when the counsellors were to be installed in their office, and to elect their own president. The dissensions incident to a long voyage and a body of adventurers rather conjoined than united, had free scope among men unaware of the relations they were to occupy towards each other, and of the subordination which their relative stations might imply; and when the names of the council were proclaimed, they were far from giving general satisfaction. Captain Smith, whose superior talents and courage had excited the envy and jealousy of his colleagues, was excluded from the seat in council which the commission conferred on him, and even accused of traitorous designs so unproved and improbable, that none less believed the charge than the parties who preferred it. The privation of his Dissensions of the colonists.

[9] Stith, p. 44 and 45.

BOOK I.

1607.

counsel and services in the difficulties of their outset was a serious loss to the colonists, and might have been attended with ruin to the settlement, if his merit and generosity had not been superior to their mean injustice. The jealous suspicions of the person who had been elected president restrained the use of arms, and discouraged the construction of fortifications; and a misunderstanding having arisen with the Indians, the colonists, unprepared for hostilities, suffered severely from one of the sudden attacks characteristic of the warfare of these savages[1].

Hostility of the Indians.

Newport had been ordered to return with the ships to England; and as the time of his departure approached, the accusers of Smith, affecting a humanity they did not feel, proposed that he should return with Newport, instead of being prosecuted in Virginia. But, happily for the colony, he scorned so to compromise his integrity; and demanding a trial, was honourably acquitted, and took his seat in the council[2].

The fleet had been better victualled than the stores of the colony; and while it remained with them, the colonists were permitted to share the abundance enjoyed by the sailors. But when Newport set sail for England, they found themselves limited to scanty supplies of unwholesome provisions; and the sultry heat of the climate, and moisture of a country overgrown with wood, concurring with the defects of their diet, brought on diseases that raged with fatal violence. Before the month of September one half of their number had perished, and among them was Bartholomew Gosnold, who had planned the expedition, and eminently contributed to its accomplishment. This scene of distress was heightened by internal dissensions. The

June.

Distress and confusion of the colony.

[1] Smith, B. iii. p. 42. [2] Ibid. p. 43.

President was accused of embezzling the stores, and finally detected in an attempt to seize a pinnace and escape from the colony and its calamities. At length, in the extremity of their distress, when ruin seemed alike to impend from famine, and the fury of the savages, the colony was delivered from danger by a supply which the piety of Smith is not ashamed to ascribe to the influence of God in suspending the passions and controlling the sentiments of men. The savages, actuated by a sudden change of feeling, presented them with a supply of provisions so abundant as at once to dissipate their apprehensions of famine and hostility [3].

CHAP. I. 1607.

Resuming their spirit, the colonists now proved themselves not entirely uninstructed by their misfortunes. In seasons of exigency merit is illustrated, and the envy that pursues it absorbed by interest and alarm. Their sense of common and inevitable danger suggested and enforced submission to the man whose talents were most likely to extricate them from the difficulties with which they were surrounded. Every eye was now turned on Smith, and all willingly devolved on him the authority which they had formerly evinced so much jealousy of his acquiring. This eminent person, whose name will be for ever associated with the foundation of civilized society in America, was descended of a respectable family in Lincolnshire, and born to a competent fortune. At a very early age his ardent mind had been strongly smitten with the spirit of adventure that prevailed so powerfully in England during the reign of Elizabeth; and, yielding to his inclinations, he had passed through a vast variety of military service, with little gain, but great reputation, and with the acquisition of an experience the more valuable that it was obtained without exhausting his ardour or tainting

[3] Smith, B. iii. p. 44.

BOOK I.

1607.

his morals[4]. The vigour of his constitution had preserved his health unimpaired amidst the general sickness; his undaunted temper retained his spirits unbroken, and his judgment unclouded, amidst the general misery and dejection; and the ardour of his disposition, which once subjected him to the reproach of overweening ambition, was now felt to diffuse an animating glow of hope and courage among all around him. A strong sense of religion predominated in the mind of this superior man, combined and duly subordinated all his faculties, refreshed his confidence, extended and yet regulated his views, and gave dignity to his character, and consistency to his conduct. Assuming the direction of the affairs of the colonists, he instantly adopted the only plan that could save them from destruction. Under his directions James-Town was fortified by such defences as were sufficient to repel the attacks of the savages; and, by dint of great labour, which he was always the foremost to share, the colonists were provided with dwellings that afforded shelter from the weather, and contributed to restore and preserve their health. Finding the supplies of the savages discontinued, he put himself at the head of a detachment of his people, and penetrated into the country; and by courtesy and liberality to the tribes whom he found well disposed, and vigorously repelling the hostilities of such as were otherwise minded, he obtained for the colony the most abundant supplies[5].

Services of Captain Smith.

He is taken prisoner by the Indians—

In the midst of his successes he was surprised on an expedition by a hostile body of savages, who, having succeeded in making him prisoner, after a gallant and nearly successful defence, prepared to inflict on him the usual fate of their captives. His eminent faculties did not desert him on this trying

[4] Stith, p. 109—112. [5] Smith, B. iii. p. 45. Stith, p. 48, 49.

occasion. He desired to speak with the sachem or chief, and, presenting him with a mariner's compass, expatiated on the wonderful discoveries to which it had led, described the shape of the earth, the vastness of its lands and oceans, the course of the sun, the varieties of nations, and the singularity of their relative positions, which made some of them antipodes to the others. With equal prudence and magnanimity he refrained from all solicitations for his life, which would only have weakened the impression which he hoped to produce. The savages listened with amazement and admiration. They had handled the compass, and viewing with surprise the play of the needle, which they plainly saw, but found it impossible to touch, from the intervention of the glass, this marvellous object prepared their minds for the reception of those vast impressions by which their captive endeavoured to gain ascendancy over them. For an hour after he had finished his harangue they seem to have remained undecided; till their habitual sentiments reviving, they resumed their suspended purpose, and, having bound him to a tree, prepared to despatch him with their arrows. But a stronger impression had been made on their chief; and his soul, enlarged for a season by the admission of knowledge, or subdued by the influence of wonder, revolted from the dominion of habitual ferocity. This chief was named Opechancanough, and destined at a future period to invest his barbarous name with terror and celebrity. Holding up the compass in his hand, he gave the signal of reprieve, and Smith, though still guarded as a prisoner, was conducted to a dwelling where he was kindly treated and plentifully entertained[6]. But

CHAP. I.

1607.

[6] Smith, B. iii. p. 47. Stith, p. 51.—This admirable triumph of knowledge and genius over barbarity and ferocity has been obscured by the inaccuracy of Dr. Robertson, who has ascribed Smith's deliverance on this occasion

BOOK I.

1607.

the strongest impressions pass away, while the influence of habit remains. After vainly endeavouring to prevail on their captive to betray the English colony into their hands, they referred his fate to Powhatan, the king or principal sachem of the country, to whose presence they conducted him in triumphal procession. The king received him with much ceremony, ordered a plentiful repast to be set before him, and then adjudged him to suffer death by having his head laid on a stone and beat to pieces with clubs. At the place appointed for this barbarous execution, he was again rescued from impending fate by the interposition of Pocahontas, the favourite daughter of the king, who, finding her first entreaties disregarded, threw her arms around the prisoner, and declared her determination to save him or die with him. Her generous affection prevailed over the cruelty of her tribe, and the king not only gave Smith his life, but soon after sent him back to James-Town, where the beneficence of Pocahontas continued to follow him with supplies of provisions that delivered the colony from famine[7].

his liberation.

He preserves the colony.

After an absence of seven weeks Smith returned to James-Town, barely in time to prevent the desertion of the colony. His associates, reduced to the number of thirty-eight, impatient of farther stay

to his artifice in *amusing* the savages with *wonderful accounts of the virtues of the compass*. Marshall, the biographer of Washington, has transferred this mis-statement into the pages of his history also. Had Smith resorted to artifice, he would only have availed himself of a resource which Columbus had previously employed, when he found his advantage in imposing on a savage tribe the *prediction* for the *production* of an eclipse. But Smith's attempt was at once more original and more honourable. The device of Columbus had been successfully practised by a Roman general, and is related by Livy. Smith, unassisted by precedent, and guided only by that "inspiration of the Almighty which giveth understanding," appears not to have uttered a single word to the savages that was not strictly true. The triumph was very great; for it was obtained over ferocity inculcated by education and confirmed by habit, and revenge excited by the death of some of the savages whom he had killed in defending himself.

7 Smith, B. iii. p. 49.

in a country where they had met with so many discouragements, and where they seemed fated to re-enact the disasters of Roanoak, were preparing to abandon the settlement; and it was not without the utmost difficulty, and alternately employing persuasion, remonstrance, and even violent interference, that Smith prevailed with them to relinquish their design[8]. The provisions that Pocahontas had sent to him relieved their present wants; his account of the plenty he had witnessed among the savages revived their hopes; and he endeavoured, by a diligent improvement of the favourable impressions he had made upon the savages, and by a judicious regulation of the intercourse between them and the colonists, to effect a union of interests and mutual participation of advantages between the two races of people. His generous efforts were successful; he preserved plenty among the English, and extended his influence and repute among the Indians, who began to respect and consult their former captive as a superior being. If Smith had sought only to magnify his own repute and establish his dominion, he might easily have passed with the savages for a demi-god; for they were not more averse to yield the allegiance which he claimed for their Creator, than forward to render it to himself, and to embrace every pretension he might advance in his own behalf. But no alluring prospect of dominion over men could tempt him to forget that he was the servant of God, or aspire to be regarded in any other light by his fellow creatures. He employed his best endeavours to divert the savages from their idolatrous superstition, and made them all aware that the man whose superiority they acknowledged despised their false deities, adored the true God, and obtained from Him, by prayer, the wisdom they so highly commended. The effect of

CHAP. I. 1607.

[8] Smith, B. iii. p. 49.

BOOK I.

his pious endeavours was obstructed by imperfect acquaintance with their language, and very ill

1607. seconded by the conduct of his associates, which contributed to persuade the Indians that his religion was something peculiar to himself. The influence, too, of human superiority, however calculated to impress, is by no means formed to convert the mind. It is so apt to give a wrong direction to the impressions which it produces, and is so remote from the channel in which Christianity from the beginning has been appointed to flow, that the first and most successful efforts to convert mankind were made by men who possessed little of it, and who renounced the little they possessed. Smith, partly from the difficulties of his situation, partly from the defectiveness of his instruction, and, doubtless, in no small degree, from the stubborn blindness and wilful ignorance of the persons he attempted to instruct, succeeded no farther than Heriot had formerly done. The savages extended their respect for the man to a Being whom they termed "the God of Captain Smith," and some of them acknowledged that this Being excelled their own deities in the same proportion that artillery excelled bows and arrows, and sent to James-Town to entreat that Smith would pray for rain when their idols seemed to refuse a supply [9].

1608. While the affairs of the colony were thus prospering under the direction of Captain Smith, a reinforcement of a hundred and twenty men, with an abundant stock of provisions, and a supply of seeds and instruments of husbandry, arrived in two vessels from England. Universal joy was excited among the colonists by this accession to their comforts and their force. But, unhappily, the jealousies which danger had restrained rather than extinguished, reappeared

[9] Smith, B. ii. p. 37; B. iii. p. 51.

in this ray of prosperity; the influence of Captain Smith with the Indians excited the envy of the very persons whose lives it had preserved, and his authority now began visibly to decline. Nor was it long before the cessation of his influence, together with the defects in the composition of the new body of emigrants, gave rise to the most serious mischiefs in the colony. The restraints of discipline were relaxed, and a free traffic permitted with the natives, who soon began to complain of fraudulent and unequal dealing, and to resume their ancient animosity. In an infant settlement, where habits of life are unfixed, and habitual submission to authority has yet to be formed, the well-being, and indeed the existence of society are much more dependent on the manners and moral character of individuals, than on the influence of laws. But in recruiting the population of this colony, too little consideration was shown for those habits and pursuits which must everywhere form the basis of national prosperity. This arose, as well from the peculiar views of the proprietors, as from the circumstances of the English people, whose working classes were by no means overcrowded, and among whom, consequently, the persons whose industry and moderation best fitted them to form a new settlement were least disposed to abandon their native country. Of the recruits who had lately arrived in the colony, a large proportion were *gentlemen*, a few were *labourers*, and some were *jewellers* and *refiners of gold*[1]. Unfortunately, some of this latter description of artists soon found an opportunity of exercising their peculiar departments of industry, and of demonstrating (but too late) their utter unskilfulness even in the worthless qualifications they professed.

CHAP. I. 1608.

A small stream of water which issued from a

[1] Smith, B. iii. p. 51 and 55.

BOOK I.

1608.

The colonists deceived by appearances of gold.

bank of sand near James-Town was found to deposit in its channel a glittering sediment which resembled golden ore, and was fondly mistaken for that precious material by the colonists. Only this discovery was wanting to re-excite the passions which America had so fatally kindled in the bosoms of her first invaders. The depositation of the ore was supposed to indicate the neighbourhood of a mine; every hand was eager to explore; and considerable quantities of the dust were amassed, and subjected to the scrutiny of ignorance prepossessed by the strongest and most deceptive of human passions, and misled by the blundering guidance of superficial pretenders to superior skill. Captain Smith exerted himself to disabuse his countrymen, and vainly strove to stem the torrent that threatened to devastate all their prospects, and direct to the pursuit of a phantom, the industry on which their subsistence must speedily depend. The worthless dust having undergone the unskilful assay of the refiners who had recently been united to the colony, was pronounced to be ore of a very rich quality, and from that moment the thirst of gold was inflamed into a rage that reproduced those extravagant excesses, but, happily, without conducting to the same profligate enormities for which the followers of Cortes and Pizarro had been distinguished. All productive industry was suspended, and the operations of mining occupied all the conversation, engrossed every thought, and absorbed every effort of the colonists. The two vessels that had brought their late supplies returning to England, the one laden with this valueless dross, and the other with cedar wood, carried the first remittance that an English colony ever made from America. They carried back with them also some persons who had been invested and sent out to the colony with the absurd appointments of Admirals,

June.

Recorders, Chronologers, and Justices of the Peace— a supply as useless to America as the remittance of dust was to Europe[2]. CHAP. I. 1608.

Foreseeing the disastrous issue to which the delusion of the colonists inevitably tended, Captain Smith, in the hope of preventing some of its most fatal consequences, adopted the resolution of extending his researches far beyond the range they had hitherto attained, and of exploring the whole of the great bay of Chesapeak, for the purpose of ascertaining the qualities and resources of its territories, and promoting a beneficial intercourse with the remoter tribes of its inhabitants. This arduous design he executed with his usual resolution and success; and while his fellow colonists were actively engaged in dissipating the hopes of England, and rivalling the sordid excesses that had characterized the adventurers of Spain, he singly sustained the honour of his country, and, warmed with a nobler emulation, achieved an enterprise that equals the most celebrated exploits of the Spanish discoverers. When we compare the slenderness of the auxiliary means which he possessed, with the magnitude of the ends which he accomplished, the hardships he endured, and the difficulties he overcame, we recognize in this achievement a monument of human power no less eminent than honourable, and willingly transmit a model so well calculated to warm the genius, to animate the fortitude, and sustain the patience of mankind. With his friend, Dr. Russell, and a small company of followers, whose courage and perseverance he was frequently obliged to resuscitate, and over whom he possessed no other authority than the ascendant of a vigorous character and superior mind, he performed, in an open boat, two voyages of discovery that occupied more than four months, and

Smith surveys the bay of Chesapeak—

[2] Smith, B. iii. cap. 2 and 3. Stith, p. 60.

BOOK I. 1608.

embraced a navigation of above three thousand miles. With immense labour and danger he visited every inlet and bay on both sides of the Chesapeak, from Cape Charles to the river Susquehannah; he sailed up many of the great rivers to their falls, and diligently examined the successive territories into which he penetrated, and the various tribes that possessed them. He brought back with him an account so ample, and a plan so accurate, of that great portion of the American continent now comprehended in the provinces of Virginia and Maryland, that all the subsequent researches which it has undergone have only expanded his original view; and his map has been made the groundwork of all posterior delineations, with little other diversity than what the varieties of appropriation and the progress of settlements have necessarily effected. But to come and to see were not his only objects; to overcome was also the purpose of his enterprise, and the attainment of his exertions. In his intercourse with the various tribes which he visited, he displayed the genius of a commander in a happy exercise of all those talents that overcome the antipathies of a rude people, and enforce the respect, and even good will, of mankind. By the wisdom and liberality with which he negotiated and traded with the friendly, and by the courage and vigour with which he repelled and overcame the hostile, he never failed to inspire the savages with the most exalted opinion of himself and his nation, and laid the foundation of an intercourse that promised the most beneficial results to the Virginian colony[3]. This was indeed the heroic age of North America: and such were the men, and such the labours, by which the first foundations of her greatness and prosperity were appointed to be laid.

[3] Russell, *apud* Smith, B. iii. cap. 5. Bagnal, *eod. loc.* cap. 6.

CHAP. I.

1608.

While this expedition was in progress, the golden dreams of the colonists were at length dispelled; and they had awaked to all the miseries of sickness, scarcity, disappointment, and discontent, when Smith once more returned to them, to revive their spirits with his successes, and relieve their wants by the resources he had created. Immediately after his return, he was chosen president by the council; and, accepting the office, he employed his influence so successfully with the savages, that present scarcity was banished, and exerted his authority so vigorously and judiciously in the colony, that a spirit of industry and good order began generally to prevail, and gave promise of lasting plenty and steady prosperity[4]. If we compare the actions of Smith, during the period of his presidency, with the enterprise that immediately preceded his election, it may appear, at first sight, that the sphere of his exertions was both narrowed and degraded by this event, and we might almost be tempted to regret the returning reasonableness of the colonists, which, by confining this active spirit to the petty details of their government, withdrew it from a range more congenial to its excursive vigour, and more advantageous to mankind. Yet, reflection might persuade us that a truly great mind, especially when united with an ardent temper, will never be contracted by the seeming restriction of its sphere; it will always be nobly, as well as usefully employed, and not the less nobly when it dignifies what is ordinary, and improves the models that invite the widest imitation, and are most level with the opportunities of mankind. Accordingly, when we examine the history of that year over which the official supremacy of Captain Smith was extended, and consider the results of the multifarious details which it embraces[5], we discern a dignity as real,

10th Sept. elected president of the colony.

[4] Stith, p. 97. [5] Smith, B. iii. caps. 7—11.

BOOK I.

1608.

though less glaring than that which invests his celebrated voyage of discovery, and are sensible of consequences even more interesting to human nature than any which that expedition produced. In a small society, where the circumstances of all the members were nearly equal, where power derived no aid from pomp and circumstance, and where he owed his office to the appointment of his associates, and held it by the tenure of their good will[6], he preserved order and enforced morality among a crew of dissolute and discontented men; and so successfully opposed his authority to the temptations to indolence arising from their previous habits and dispositions, and fortified by the community of gains that then prevailed, as to introduce and maintain a respectable degree of laborious, and even contented industry. What one governor afterwards effected in this respect by the weight of an imposing rank, and others by the strong engine of martial law, Smith, without these advantages, and with greater success, accomplished by the continual application of his own vigour and activity. Some plots were formed against him; but these he detected and defeated without either straining or compromising his authority. The caprice and suspicion of the Indians assailed him with numberless trials of his temper and capacity. Even Powhatan, notwithstanding the friendly ties that united him to his ancient guest, was induced, by the treacherous artifices of certain Dutchmen,

[6] It was the testimony of his soldiers and fellow adventurers, says Stith, "that he was ever fruitful in expedients to provide for the people under his command, whom he would never suffer to want any thing he either had or could procure; that he rather chose to lead than send his soldiers into danger;" that in all their expeditions he partook the common fare, and never gave a command that he was not ready to execute; "that he would suffer want rather than borrow, and starve sooner than not pay; that he had nothing in him counterfeit or shy, but was open, honest, and sincere." Stith adds, respecting this founder of civilized society in North America, what the son of Columbus has, with a noble elation, recorded of his father, that, though habituated to naval manners, and to the command of factious and licentious men, he was never heard to utter an oath.

who deserted to him from James-Town, first to form a secret conspiracy, and then to excite and prepare open hostility against the colonists. Some of the fraudful designs of the royal savage were revealed by the unabated kindness of *Pocahontas*, others were detected by Captain Smith, and from them all he contrived to extricate the colony with honour and success, and yet with little, and only defensive, bloodshed; displaying to the Indians a vigour and dexterity they could neither overcome nor overreach—a courage that commanded their respect, and a generosity that carried his victory into their minds, and reconciled submission with their pride. In thus demonstrating (to use his own words) "what small cause there is that men should starve or be murdered by the savages, that have discretion to manage them with courage and industry[7]," he bequeathed a valuable lesson to his successors in the American colonies, and to all succeeding settlers in the vicinity of savage tribes; and in exemplifying the power of a superior people to anticipate the cruel and vulgar issue of battle, and to prevail over an inferior race without either extirpating or enslaving them, he obtained a victory which Cæsar, with all his boasted superiority to the rest of mankind, was too ungenerous to appreciate, or was incompetent to achieve.

CHAP. I. 1609.

But Smith was not permitted to complete the work he had so honourably begun. His administration was unacceptable to the company in England, for the same reasons that rendered it beneficial to the settlers in America. The patentees, very little concerned about the establishment of a happy and respectable society, had eagerly counted on the accumulation of sudden wealth by the discovery of a shorter passage to the South Sea, or the acquisition of territory replete with mines of the precious metals.

[7] Smith, B. iii. p. 89.

BOOK I. 1609. In these hopes they had been hitherto disappointed; and the state of affairs in the colony was far from betokening even the retribution of their heavy expenditure. The prospect of a settled and improving state of society at James-Town, so far from meeting their wishes, threatened to promote the growth of habits and interests perfectly incompatible with them. Still hoping, therefore, to realize their avaricious dreams, they conceived it necessary for this purpose to remove all authority into their own hands, and to abolish all jurisdiction originating in America [8]. In order to enforce their pretensions, as well as to increase their funds, they now courted the acquisition of additional members; and having strengthened their interests by the accession of some persons of the highest rank and influence in the nation, they applied for and obtained a new charter.

New charter.

23d May. If the new charter thus arbitrarily introduced showed an utter disregard of the rights of the colonists who had emigrated on the faith of the original one, its provisions equally demonstrated the intention of restricting their privileges and increasing their dependence on the English patentees. The new charter was granted to twenty-one peers, ninety-eight knights, and a great multitude of doctors, esquires, gentlemen, merchants, and citizens, and sundry of the corporations of London, in addition to the former adventurers; and the whole body was incorporated by the title of "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers of the City of London for the first colony in Virginia." The boundaries of the colony and the power of the corporation were enlarged; the offices of president and council in Virginia were abolished; a new council was established in England, and the company empowered to fill all future vacancies in it by election; and to

[8] Smith, B. iii. cap. xii.

this council was committed the power of new-modelling the magistracy of the colony, of enacting all the laws that were to have place in it, and nominating all the officers by whom these laws were to be carried into execution. Nevertheless, was it still provided that the colonists and their posterity should retain all the rights of Englishmen. To prevent the doctrines of the church of Rome from gaining admission into the plantations, it was declared that no persons should pass into Virginia but such as should first have taken the oath of supremacy [9].

Lord Delaware appointed governor.

The new council appointed Lord Delaware governor and captain-general of the colony; and the hopes inspired by the distinguished rank, and not less eminent character of this nobleman, contributed to strengthen the company by a considerable accession of funds and associates. Availing themselves of the favourable disposition of the public, they quickly equipped a squadron of nine ships, and sent them out with five hundred emigrants, under the command of Captain Newport, who was authorised to supersede the existing administration, and to govern the colony till the arrival of Lord Delaware with the remainder of the recruits and supplies. But by an unlucky combination of caution and indiscretion, the same powers were severally intrusted to Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers, without any adjustment of precedence between these gentlemen; and they finding themselves unable to settle this point among themselves, agreed to embark on board the same vessel, and to be companions during the voyage—thus deliberately hazarding and eventually effecting the disappointment of the main object which their association in authority was intended to secure. The vessel that contained the triumvirate was separated from the fleet by a storm, and stranded

Newport, Gates, and Somers sent out to assume the command till his arrival—

are wrecked on the coast of Bermudas.

[9] Stith, p. 102, and Append. p. 8. Hazard, p. 58.

BOOK I.

1609.

on the coast of Bermudas [1]. The residue of the squadron arrived safely at James-Town; but so little were they expected, that when they were first descried at sea they were mistaken for enemies; and this rumour gave occasion to a very satisfactory proof of the friendly disposition of the Indians, who came forward with the utmost alacrity, and offered to fight in defence of the colony [2].

These apprehensions, which were dissipated by the nearer approach of the fleet, gave place to more substantial and more formidable evils arising from the composition of the reinforcement which it brought to the colonial body. A great proportion of these new emigrants consisted of profligate and licentious youths, sent out by their friends with the hope of changing their destinies, or for the purpose of screening them from the justice or contempt of their country; of indigent gentlemen too proud to beg, and too lazy to work; tradesmen of broken fortunes and broken spirit; idle retainers whom the great were eager to get rid of; and dependents too infamous to be decently protected at home; with others, like these, more fitted to waste and corrupt a commonwealth than to found or maintain one [3]. The leaders of this pernicious crew, though totally unprovided with legal documents entitling them either to assume or supersede authority, proclaimed the changes which the constitution of the colony had undergone, and proceeded to execute that part of the innovation which consisted in the overthrow of the colonial presidency and council. Their conduct soon demonstrated that their title to assume authority was not more defective than their capacity

[1] It was this disaster, no doubt, which produced the only allusion which Shakespeare ever makes to the regions of America. In *The Tempest*, which was composed about three years after this period, *Ariel* celebrates the stormy coast of "the still vex'd Bermudas."

[2] Smith, B. iii. cap. xii. Stith, p. 102. [3] Stith, p. 103.

to exercise it. Investing themselves with the powers, they were unable to devise any frame of government, or establish even among themselves any fixed subordination; sometimes the old commission was resorted to, sometimes a new model attempted; and the chief direction passed from hand to hand in one uninterrupted succession of presumption and incapacity. The whole colony was involved in distress and disorder by this revolutionary state of its new government, and the Indian tribes were alienated and exasperated by the turbulence, injustice, and insolence of the new settlers. 1609.

This emergency strongly called on the man who had so often rescued the settlement from ruin, again to attempt its deliverance; the call was seconded by the wishes of the best and wisest of the colonists; and, aided as much by the vigour of his own character, as by the cooperation of these individuals, Smith once more assumed his natural ascendant and official supremacy, and declared his intention of retaining the authority created by the old commission till a legal revocation of it and legitimate successors to himself should arrive. He boldly imprisoned the chief promoters of tumult; and having restored regularity and obedience, he endeavoured to prevent a recurrence of the former mischiefs by detaching from James-Town a portion of the new colonists to form a subordinate settlement at some distance. This was an unfortunate step; and it is remarkable that the only signal failure in the policy of this eminent man seems to have arisen from the only instance in which he showed a distrust of his own vigour and capacity. The detachments which he removed from James-Town conducted themselves so imprudently as to convert all the neighbouring Indians into enemies, and to involve themselves in continual difficulty and danger. The In-

BOOK I.

1609.

dians asssailed him with complaints, the detached settlers with requisitions of counsel and assistance; and Smith, who never spent in lamenting misfortunes the time that might be employed in repairing them, was exerting himself with his usual vigour and good sense in redressing these disorders, when he received a dangerous wound from the accidental explosion of a quantity of gunpowder. Completely disabled by this misfortune, and destitute of surgical aid in the colony, he was compelled to resign his command, and take his departure for England [4]. He never returned to Virginia again. It was natural that he should abandon with regret the society he had so often preserved, the settlement he had conducted through difficulties as formidable as the infancy of Carthage or Rome had to encounter, and the scenes he had dignified by so much wisdom and virtue. But our sympathy with his regret is abated by the reflection, that a longer residence in the colony would speedily have consigned him to very subordinate office [5], and might have deprived the world of that stock of valuable knowledge, and his own character of that accession of fame [6], which the publication of his travels has been the means of perpetuating. Such reflections are not foreign to the purpose, nor inconsistent with the dignity of history, which may well be allowed to linger with interest on the fortunes of this excellent person, and is well employed in teaching by example how powerfully an enlargement of our view contributes to purify the moral aspect of events.

Captain Smith returns to England.

October.

[4] Smith, B. iii. cap. xii. Stith, p. 103—107.

[5] See Note II. at the end of the volume.

[6] He became so famous in England before his death, that his adventures were dramatised and represented on the stage, to his own great annoyance. Stith, p. 112.

CHAPTER II.

The Colony a Prey to Anarchy—and Famine.—Gates and Somers arrive from Bermudas.—Abandonment of the Colony determined—prevented by the Arrival of Lord Delaware. — His wise Administration—his Return to England.—Sir Thomas Dale's Administration.—Martial Law established.—Indian Chief's Daughter seized by Captain Argal—married to Mr. Rolfe.—Right of private Property in Land introduced into the Colony.—Expeditions of Argal against Port Royal and New York.—Tobacco cultivated by the Colonists.—First Assembly of Representatives convened in Virginia.—New Constitution of the Colony.—Introduction of Negro Slavery.—Migration of young Women from England to Virginia.—Dispute between the King and the Colony.—Conspiracy of the Indians.—Massacre of the Colonists.—Dissensions of the London Company.—The Company dissolved.—The King assumes the Government of the Colony—his Death.—Charles I. pursues his Father's arbitrary Views.—Tyrannical Government of Sir John Harvey.—Sir William Berkeley appointed Governor.—The popular Assembly restored.—Virginia espouses the Royal Cause—subdued by the Long Parliament.—Restraints imposed on the Trade of the Colony.—Revolt of the Colony.—Sir William Berkeley resumes the Government.—Restoration of Charles II.

CHAP. II.

1609.

SMITH left the colony inhabited by five hundred persons, and amply provided with all necessary stores of arms, provisions, cattle, and implements of agriculture[1]: but the sense to improve its opportunities was wanting, and its fortune departed with him. For a short time the command was intrusted to Mr. Percy, a man of worth, but devoid of the vigour that gives efficacy to virtue; and the direction of affairs soon fell into the hands of persons whom their native country had cast from it as a useless burden or intolerable nuisance. The colony was delivered up to the wildest excesses of a seditious and distracted rab-

The colony a prey to anarchy—

[1] Stith, p. 107.

BOOK I.

1610.

ble, and presented a scene of riot, folly, and profligacy, strongly invoking vindictive retribution, and speedily overtaken by it. The provisions were quickly exhausted; and the Indians, incensed by repeated injuries, and aware that the man whom they so much respected had ceased to govern the colonists, not only refused them all assistance, but harassed them with continual attacks. Famine ensued, and completed their misery and degradation by transforming them into cannibals, and forcing them to subsist on the bodies of the Indians they had killed, and of their own companions who perished of hunger or disease. Six months after the departure of Smith there remained no more than sixty persons alive at James-Town, still prolonging their wretchedness by a vile and precarious diet, but daily expecting its final and fatal close[2].

and famine.

May.

Gates and Somers arrive from Bermudas.

In this calamitous state was the colony found by Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and Captain Newport, who at length arrived from Bermudas, where the shipwreck they had encountered had detained them and their crew for ten months[3]. The bounty of Nature in that delightful region maintained them in comfort while they built the vessels that were to transport them to James-Town, and might have supplied them with ample stores for the use of the colony; but they had neglected these resources, and arrived almost empty-handed, in the expectation of receiving from the magazines of a thriving settlement the relief that was now vainly implored from themselves by the famishing remnant of their countrymen. Their disappointment was equalled only by the difficulty of comprehending the causes of the desolation they beheld, amidst the mutual and contradictory accusations of the surviving colonists. But there was no time for deliberate inquiry, or adjust-

[2] Stith, p. 107, and 115—117. [3] Smith, B. v.

ment of complaints. It was immediately determined to abandon the settlement, and with this view they all embarked in the vessels that had just arrived from Bermudas, and set sail for England. Their stores were insufficient for so long a voyage; but they hoped to obtain an additional supply at the English fishing station on the coast of Newfoundland. Such a horror had many of them conceived for the scene of their misery, that they were importunate with the commanders for leave to burn the fort and houses at James-Town. But Sir Thomas Gates could not find in their or his distresses any reason for demolishing the buildings, that might afford shelter to future settlers; and happily, by his interposition, they were preserved from destruction, and the colonists prevented from wreaking additional vengeance on themselves[4].

Abandonment of the colony determined.

For it was not the will of Providence that this settlement should perish; the calamities with which it had been visited were commissioned to punish merely, but not utterly to destroy; and the more worthless members being now cut off, and a memorable lesson afforded both to the governors who collect[5], and the members who compose such communities, a deliverance no less signal was vouchsafed by the Disposer of all events, just when hope was over, and the colony advanced to the very brink of annihilation. Before the fugitives had reached the mouth of James River they were met by Lord Delaware, who arrived with three ships, containing a large supply of provisions, a considerable number of new settlers, and an ample

prevented by the arrival of Lord Delaware.

[4] Smith, B. iv. Stith, p. 117.

[5] The fate of this settlement probably suggested to Lord Bacon the following passage in his essay on Plantations. "It is a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of the people, and wicked condemned men, to be the people with whom we plant: and not only so, but it spoileth the plantation; for they will ever live like rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, and do mischief, and spend victuals."

BOOK I.

stock of every thing requisite for defence or cultivation[6].

1610. This nobleman, who now presented himself as captain-general of the colony, was eminently well fitted for the exigency of the situation in which he was thus unexpectedly involved. To exalted rank, in an age when such distinctions were regarded with much veneration, he joined a noble demeanour, a disinterested character, and a manly understanding. The hope of rendering an important service to his country, and the generous pleasure of cooperating in a great design, had induced him to exchange his ease and splendor at home for a situation of the difficulties of which he was perfectly aware; and the same firmness and elevation of purpose preserved him undaunted and unperplexed by the scene of calamity he encountered on his arrival in Virginia. Stemming the torrent of evil fortune, he carried back the fugitives to James-Town, and began his administration by attendance on Divine worship; and having held a short consultation on the affairs of the settlement, he summoned all the colonists together, and addressed them in a short but forcible and dignified harangue. He justly rebuked the pride, and sloth, and immorality that had produced such disasters, and earnestly recommended a return to the virtues most likely to repair them: he declared his determination not to hold the sword of justice in vain, but to punish the first recurrence of disorder by shedding the blood of the delinquents, though he would infinitely rather shed his own to protect the colony from injury. He nominated proper officers for every department, and allotted to every man his particular place and business. This address was received with general applause and satisfaction; and the idle factious humours of a

[6] Smith, B. iv. Stith, p. 117.

divided multitude soon appeared to be substantially healed by the splendour, unity, and authority of Lord Delaware's administration. By an assiduous attention to his duty, and a happy union of qualities fitted equally to inspire esteem and enforce submission, he succeeded in maintaining peace and good order in the settlement, in diffusing a spirit of industry and alacrity among the colonists, and in again impressing the dread and reverence of the English name on the minds of the Indians. This promising beginning was all he was permitted to effect. Oppressed by diseases occasioned by the climate, he was compelled to quit the country; having first committed the administration to Mr. Percy [7].

CHAP. II.

1611.

His wise administration—

his return to England.

March.

The restoration of this gentleman to the supreme command seems to have been attended with the same relaxation of discipline, and would probably have led to a repetition of the same disorders, that had so fatally distinguished his former government. But happily for the colony, a squadron that had been despatched from England before Lord Delaware's return with a supply of men and provisions, brought also with it Sir Thomas Dale, whose commission authorised him, in the absence of that nobleman, to assume the administration. This new governor found the colonists fast relapsing into idleness and penury; and though he exerted himself strenuously, and not unsuccessfully, to restore better habits, yet the loss of Lord Delaware's imposing rank and authoritative character was sensibly felt. What he could not accomplish by milder means, he was soon enabled, and compelled to effect by a system of notable rigour and severity. A code of rules and articles had been compiled by Sir Thomas Smith, the treasurer of the company of patentees, from the martial law of the

May.

Sir Thomas Dale's administration.

[7] Stith, p. 117—121. Lord Delaware's Discourse, *apud* Smith, B. iv. See also Note III.

BOOK I.

Low Countries, the most severe and arbitrary frame of discipline that then existed in the world; and having been printed by the compiler for the use of the colony, but without the sanction or authority of the council, was transmitted by him to the governor[8]. This code did not long remain inoperative. Sir Thomas Dale caused it to be proclaimed as the settled law of the colony; and some conspiracies having broken out, he enforced its provisions with great rigour, but not greater than was judged by all who witnessed it to have effected the preservation of the settlement. The wisdom and honour of the governor, who thus became the first depositary of these formidable powers, and the salutary consequences that resulted from the first exercise of them, seem to have prevented the alarm which the introduction of a system so destructive to liberty was calculated to provoke. Dale was succeeded in the supreme command by Sir Thomas Gates, who arrived with six vessels, containing a powerful reinforcement to the numbers and resources of the colonists. The late and the present governors were united by mutual friendship and similarity of character. Gates approved and pursued the system of strict discipline and steady but moderate enforcement of the martial code, that had been introduced by Dale; and under the directions of Dale, who continued in the country and willingly occupied a subordinate station, various bodies of the colonists began to form additional settlements on the banks of James River and at some distance from James-Town[9].

1611. Martial law established.

August.

1612. An application was now made by the company of patentees to the king, for an enlargement of their

[8] Stith, p. 122. Nothing can be more fanciful or erroneous than Dr. Robertson's account of the introduction of this system, which without the slightest reason he ascribes to the advice of Lord Bacon, and, in opposition to all evidence, represents as the act of the company. See Note IV.

[9] Smith, B. iv. Stith, p. 123.

charter. The accounts they had received from the persons who were shipwrecked on Bermudas, of the fertility and agreeableness of that territory, impressed them with the desire of obtaining possession of its resources for the supply of Virginia[1]. Their increasing influence enforced their request; and a new charter was issued, investing them with all the islands situated within three hundred leagues of the coast of Virginia. Some innovations were made in the structure and forms of the corporation; the term of exemption from payment of duties on commodities exported by them was prolonged; the company was empowered to apprehend and remand persons returning by stealth from the settlement, in violation of their engagements; and, for the more effectual advancement of the colony and indemnification of the large sums that had been expended on it, license was given to open lotteries in any part of England[2]. The lottery which was set on foot in virtue of this license, was the first establishment of the kind that had ever received public countenance in England: it brought twenty-nine thousand pounds into the treasury of the company, but loaded it with the reproach of defrauding the people, by alluring them to play a game in which they must certainly be the losers. The House of Commons, which then represented the sense and guarded the morality of England, remonstrated against this odious concession of their ignoble sovereign, as a measure equally unconstitutional and impolitic; and the license was soon after recalled[3]. Happy if their example had been copied by later times, and the rulers of mankind restrained from polluting their financial administra-

CHAP. II.

1612.

March.

[1] Stith, p. 126. About this time the patentees promoted a subscription among devout persons in London for building churches in the colony: but the money was diverted to other purposes, and it was not till some years after that churches were built in Virginia. Oldmixon's Brit. Emp. in Amer. i. 231. 300.

[2] Stith, p. 127, and Append. p. 23. Hazard, p. 72.

[3] Chalmers's Annals, p. 33.

BOOK I.

1612.

tion by a system of chicane, and promoting in their subjects that gambling habit of mind which dissolves industry and virtue, and is generally the parent even of the most atrocious crimes! Notwithstanding the eagerness of the company to acquire the Bermuda islands, they did not retain them long, but sold them to certain of their own members, who were erected into a separate corporation by the name of the Somer-Islands Company[4].

The colony of Virginia had once been saved, in the person of its own deliverer Captain Smith, by Pocahontas the daughter of the Indian king Powhatan. She had ever since maintained a friendly intercourse with the English, and she was destined now to render them a service of the highest importance. A scarcity prevailing at James-Town, and supplies being obtained but scantily and irregularly from the neighbouring Indians, with whom the colonists were often embroiled, Captain Argal was despatched to the Potomac for a cargo of corn. Here he learned that Pocahontas was living in retirement at no great distance from him; and hoping, by possession of her person, to obtain such an ascendant over Powhatan as would enforce an ample contribution of provisions, he prevailed on her, by some artifice, to come on board his vessel, and then set sail with her to James-Town, where she was detained in a state of honourable captivity. But Powhatan, more indignant at such treachery than overcome by his misfortune, rejected with scorn the demand of a ransom; he even refused to hold any communication with the robbers

Indian chief's daughter seized by Captain Argal—

[4] Stith, p. 127. It is said that Waller the poet subsequently became a partner of this company, and that during his banishment from England he resided some time in Bermudas; a statement that seems to derive some confirmation, from the minute description of the scenery and produce of the place in his poem, "The Battle of the Somer-Islands." It is a pity that the muse of Waller and of Marvel, which travelled as far across the Atlantic as Bermudas, should not have extended her range to that illustrious continent whose aspect was able to transform Bishop Berkeley from a metaphysician into a poet.

CHAP. II.

who still kept his daughter a prisoner, but declared that if she were restored to him he would forget the injury, and, feeling himself at liberty to regard them as friends, would gratify all their wishes. But the colonists were too conscious of not deserving the performance of such promises, to be able to give credit to them; and the most injurious consequences seemed likely to arise from the unjust detention, which they could no longer continue with advantage nor relinquish with safety, when all at once the aspect of affairs underwent a surprising and beneficial change. During her residence in the colony, Pocahontas, who is represented as a woman distinguished by her personal attractions, made such impression on Mr. Rolfe, a young man of rank and estimation among the settlers, that he offered her his hand, and, with her approbation and the warm encouragement of the governor, solicited the consent of Powhatan to their marriage: this the old prince readily granted, and sent some of his relations to attend the ceremonial, which was performed with extraordinary pomp, and laid the foundation of a firm and sincere friendship between his tribe and the English. This happy event also enabled the colonial government to conclude a treaty with the Chiccahominies, a brave and martial tribe, who consented to acknowledge themselves subjects of the British monarch, and style themselves henceforward Englishmen, to assist the colonists with their arms in war, and to pay an annual tribute of Indian corn[5].

1612.

married to Mr. Rolfe.

But a material change which now took place in the interior arrangements of the colony contributed to establish its prosperity on foundations more solid and respectable than the alliance or dependence of the Indian tribes. The industry which had been barely kept alive by the severe discipline of martial law, lan-

1613.

Right of private property in land introduced into the colony.

[5] Smith, B. iv. Stith, p. 127—130.

BOOK I. 1613.

guished under the discouragement of that community of property and labour which had been introduced, as we have seen, by the provisions of the original charter. As a temporary expedient, this system could not have been easily avoided; and the censure which historians have so liberally bestowed on its introduction seems to be quite misplaced. The impolicy consisted in prolonging its duration beyond the time when the colony acquired stability, when modes of life came to be fixed, and when the resources of the place and the productive powers of labour being fully understood, the government might safely and advantageously remit every individual to the stimulus of his own interest and dependence on his own industry. But at first it was unavoidable that the government should charge itself with the support of its subjects and the regulation of their industry; and that their first experimental exertions should be referred to the principle and adapted to the rules of a system of partnership. How long such a system may endure, when originated and maintained by a strong and general impulse of that Christian spirit which teaches every man to regard his office on earth as that of a steward, his life as a stewardship, and the superiority of his powers as designating, not the extent of his interest, but the increase of his responsibility, is a problem to be solved by the future history of mankind. But as a permanent arrangement, supported only by municipal law, it attempts an impossibility, and commits the enforcement of its observances to an influence destructive of its own principles. As soon as the sense of individual interest and security begins to dissolve the bond of common hazard, danger, and difficulty, the law is felt to be an intolerable restriction; but as in theory it retains a generous aspect, and its inconvenience is at first evinced by the idleness and im-

morality which its secret suggestions give scope to, it is not to be wondered at that rulers should seek to remove the effect while they preserve the cause, and even by additional securities of regulation extinguish every remains of the virtue they vainly attempt to revive. 1613.

Sir Thomas Dale, by his descent from the supreme direction of affairs to a more active participation in the conduct of them, was enabled to observe with an accurate and unprejudiced eye the operation of the colonial laws on the dispositions of the colonists, and in particular the utter incompatibility of this regulation with all the ordinary motives by which human industry is maintained. He saw that every one was eager to evade or abridge his own share of labour; that the universal reliance on the common stock impaired, in every individual, the efforts on which its replenishment depended; that the slothful reposed in dependence on the industrious, while the industrious were deprived of their alacrity by impatience of supporting and confirming the slothful in their idleness; and that the most honourable would hardly take as much pains for the community in a week as he would do for himself in a day. Under his direction, the evil was redressed by a radical and effectual remedy: a sufficient portion of land was divided into lots, and one of them was assigned in full property to every settler. From that moment, industry, freed from the obstruction that had relaxed its incitements and intercepted its recompense, took vigorous root in Virginia, and the prosperity of the colony evinced a steady and rapid advancement[6]. Gates returning to England, the supreme direction again devolved on Sir Thomas Dale, whose virtue seems never to have enlarged with the enlargement of his authority. He continued for two years longer in the colony; and 1614.

[6] Smith, B. iv. Stith, p. 131.

BOOK I.

1614.

in his domestic administration continued to promote its real welfare; but he launched into foreign operations little productive of advantage, and still less of honour. In Captain Argal, the author of the fortunate seizure of Pocahontas, he found a fit instrument, and perhaps a counsellor, of designs of a similar character and tendency. The French settlers in Acadie had, in the year 1605, built Port Royal in the Bay of Fundy, and had ever since retained quiet possession of the country, and successfully cultivated a friendly intercourse with the neighbouring Indians. Under the pretext that the French, by settling in Acadie, had invaded the rights derived by the English from the first discovery of the continent, was Argal despatched, in a time of profound peace, to make a hostile attack on this settlement. Nothing could be more unjust or unwarranted than this enterprise. The Virginian charters, with the enforcement of which alone Sir Thomas Dale was intrusted, did not embrace the territory which he now presumed to invade, and which the French had peaceably possessed for nearly ten years, in virtue of charters from their sovereign Henry the IVth. Argal easily succeeded in surprising and plundering a community that were totally unsuspicious of hostility and unprepared for defence; but leaving no garrison in the place, the French soon resumed their station[7], and the expedition produced no other permanent effect than the recollections it left in the minds of the French, and the impression it produced on the sentiments of the Indians. But a few years elapsed before an attack on themselves, by their own Indian neighbours, equally iniquitous and far more fatal, avenged the outrage on Port Royal, and taught the government of Virginia to detest the policy which it had

Expeditions of Argal against Port Royal and New York.

7 Stith, p. 132. Escarbot's Hist. of New France, p. 417. Purchas, vol. v. p. 1603—1645.

thus sanctioned by its example. Returning from this expedition, Argal executed a similar enterprise against New York, which was then in the possession of the Dutch, whose claim was derived from Captain Hudson's discovery or visit to the territory in 1609, when he commanded one of their vessels, and was employed in their service. But Argal maintained, that Hudson being an Englishman, there accrued from his acquisition an indefeasible right to his country; and the Dutch governor being unprepared for resistance, was compelled to submit and declare the colony to be a dependency of England, and tributary to Virginia. But another governor arriving soon after, with better means of asserting the title of his countrymen, the concession was retracted, and the English claim successfully defied[8].

1614.

1615. Tobacco cultivated by the colonists.

One of the first objects to which the increasing industry of the colonists was directed was the cultivation of tobacco, which was now for the first time introduced into Virginia. King James had conceived a strong antipathy to the use of this weed, and in his celebrated *Counterblast against Tobacco*, had endeavoured to prevail over one of the strongest tastes of human nature by the force of fustian and pedantry. The issue of the contest corresponded better with his interests than his wishes; his testimony, though pressed with all the vehemence of exalted folly, could not prevail with his subjects over the evidence of their own senses; and though he summoned his prerogative to the aid of his logic, and prohibited the pollution of English ground by the cultivation of tobacco[9], he found it impossible to withstand its

[8] Stith, p. 132, 3. See the History of New York, in Book *post.*

[9] The following preamble to one of his proclamations on this subject is highly characteristic:—"Whereas we, out of the dislike we had of the use of tobacco, tending to a general and new corruption both of men's bodies and manners, and nevertheless holding it of the two more honourable that the same should be imported among other vanities and superfluities which come from beyond the seas than be permitted to be planted here within the realm, whereby to abuse and misemploy the soil of this fruitful kingdom, did prohibit the planting of it in England," &c. Rymer, vol. xvii. p. 233. Hazard, p. 93.

BOOK I.

importation from abroad: the demand for it rapidly extended, and its value and consumption daily increased in England. Incited by the hopes of sharing a trade so profitable, the colonists of Virginia devoted their fields and labour almost exclusively to the culture of tobacco. Sir Thomas Dale observing their inconsiderate ardour, and sensible of the danger of neglecting the cultivation of the humbler but more necessary productions, on which the subsistence of the colony depended, interposed his authority to check the excesses of the planters; and adjusted by law the proportion between the corn crop and the tobacco crop of every proprietor of land. But after his departure, his wise policy was neglected and his laws forgotten; and the culture of tobacco so exclusively occupied the attention of the settlers that even the streets of James-Town were planted with it, and a scarcity of provisions very soon resulted. In this extremity they were compelled to renew their exactions upon the Indians, and involved themselves in disputes and hostilities which gradually alienated the regards of these savages, and paved the way to one of those schemes of vengeance which they are noted for forming with the most impenetrable secrecy, maturing with consummate artifice, and executing with unrelenting rancour[1]. This fatal consequence was not fully experienced till after the lapse of one of those intervals which to careless eyes appear to disconnect the misconduct from the sufferings of nations, but impress reflective minds with an awful sense of that strong unbroken chain which subsists undisturbed by time or distance, and both preserves and extends the moral consequences of human actions.

1615.

1616.

But a nobler plant than tobacco was preparing to rise in Virginia; and we are now to contemplate the

[1] Smith, B. iv. Stith, p. 140, 147, 164, 168. Purchas, iv. 1787. In the year 1615 was published at London, "A true Discourse of the present State of Virginia," by Ralph Hamar, secretary to the colony; a tract which has no other merit but its scarcity.

first indication of that active principle of liberty which was destined to become the most considerable staple and appropriate moral produce of America. When Sir Thomas Dale returned to England, he had committed the government to Mr. George Yeardley, whose lax administration, if it removed a useful restraint on the improvident cupidity of the planters, enabled them to taste, and prepared them to value, the dignity of independence and the blessings of liberty. He was succeeded by Captain Argal, a man of considerable talents and resolution, but selfish, haughty, and tyrannical. Argal provided with ability for the wants of the colony, and introduced some useful regulations of the traffic and intercourse with the Indians; but he encumbered personal liberty with needless and minute restrictions, and enforced their observance by a harsh and constant exercise of martial law. While he pretended to promote piety in others by punishing absence from church with a temporary slavery, he postponed in his own practice every other consideration to the acquisition of wealth, which he effected by a profligate abuse of the opportunities of his office, and defended by the terrors of despotic authority. Universal discontent was excited by his administration, and the complaints of the colonists at length reached the ears of the company in England. In Lord Delaware their interests had always found a zealous friend and powerful advocate; and he now consented, for their deliverance, to resume his former office, and again to undertake

1616.

1617[2].

[2] This year died Pocahontas. She had accompanied her husband on a visit to England, where her history excited universal interest, and the grace and dignity of her manner no less respect and admiration. Captain Smith introduced her to the queen, and her society was courted by the most eminent of the nobility. But the mean soul of the king regarded her with jealousy, and expressed alternate murmurs at Rolfe's presumption in marrying a princess, and alarm at the title that his posterity might acquire to the sovereignty of Virginia. Pocahontas died in the faith, and with the sentiments and demeanour, of a Christian. She left a son by Mr. Rolfe, whose descendants in Virginia unite the blood of the old and new races of the inhabitants of America. Smith, B. iv. Stith, p. 142—6.

BOOK I. 1618.

the direction of their affairs. He embarked for Virginia with a splendid train, but died on the voyage. His loss was deeply lamented by the colonists; but it was in the main, perhaps, an advantageous circumstance for them that an administration of such pomp and dignity was thus timeously intercepted, and the improvement of their affairs committed to men and manners nearer the level of their own condition; and it was no less advantageous to the memory of Lord Delaware, that he died in the demonstration of a generous willingness to attempt what it was very unlikely he could have succeeded in effecting. The tidings of his death were followed to England by increasing complaints of the odious and tyrannical proceedings of Argal; and the company having conferred the office of captain-general on Mr. Yeardley, the new governor received the honour of knighthood, and proceeded to the scene of his administration[4].

April, 1619.

First assembly of representatives convened in Virginia.

Sir George Yeardley, on his arrival in Virginia, to the inexpressible joy of the inhabitants, declared his intention of reinstating them in full possession of the privileges of Englishmen, by convoking a colonial assembly. This first legislative body that America ever produced, consisted of the governor, the council, and burgesses elected by the seven existing boroughs,

[3] This year was productive of an event more interesting to the feelings than to the fortunes of the people of America—the death of Sir Walter Raleigh. After a career of dazzling brilliancy, but not of unstained virtue nor unclouded popularity, he found in the severe affliction of his closing scene a remedy for the errors of his own character, and the envy and odium in which they had involved him: and the sunset of his life, gilded by the pure and gentle light of religion, added the tender respect and compassion of mankind to the various sentiments which his history had excited. On the night before his execution he composed some beautiful lines on his approaching fate. Perhaps calmer contemplation of death was never evinced than in the passage where he prays that Heaven would

> "*Use at the stroke—when my veins start and spread—*
> Set on my soul an everlasting head."

It is pleasing to observe how the earlier historians of America claim kindred between him and their country, and blend with their narrative occasional reference to his fortunes and fate. When we consider the jealousy with which the king pursued him, it seems fortunate for America that his interests had so long been separated from hers.

[4] Smith, B. iv. Stith, p. 147, 8, 9. 154, 7.

who, assembling at James-Town, in one apartment, conducted their deliberations with good sense and harmony, and debated all affairs that involved the general welfare. The laws which they enacted were transmitted to England for the approbation of the treasurer and company, and are no longer extant; but they are declared by competent judges to have been in the main wisely and judiciously framed, though (as might reasonably be expected) somewhat intricate and unsystematical[5]. The company sometime after passed an ordinance by which they substantially approved and established this constitution of the Virginian legislature. They reserved, however, to themselves the creation of a council of state, which should assist the governor with advice in the executive administration, and should also form a part of the colonial assembly; and they provided, on the one hand, that the enactments of the assembly should not have the force of law till ratified by the court of proprietors in England; and conceded, on the other hand, that the orders of this court should have no force in Virginia till ratified by the colonial assembly[6]. Thus early was planted in America that representative system that forms the soundest political frame in which liberty was ever embodied, and at once the safest and most efficient organ by which its energies are exercised and developed. So strongly embued were the minds of Englishmen in this age with the vigorous spirit of that liberty which was rapidly advancing to a first manhood in their country, that wherever they settled themselves, the institutions of freedom took root and grew up along with them.

June, 1619.

New constitution of the colony.

[5] Rolfe, *apud* Smith, B. iv. Stith, p. 160.—The assembly, when they transmitted their own enactments to England, requested the general court to prepare a digest for Virginia of the laws of England, and to procure for it the sanction of the king's approbation, adding, "that it was not fit that his subjects should be governed by any other rules than such as received their influence from him."—Chalmers, p. 44.

[6] Stith, p. 196, and Append. p. 32. Hazard, p. 131.

BOOK I. 1619.

It had been happy for the morals and the prosperity of Virginia, if her inhabitants, like their brethren in Massachussetts, had oftener elevated their eye from subordinate agency to the great First Cause, and had referred, in particular, the signal blessing that was now bestowed on them to the will and gift of God. Liberty so derived acquires at once its firmest and noblest basis,—it becomes respected as well as beloved; the dignity of the origin to which it is referred, influences the ends to which it is made subservient; and all are taught to feel that it can neither be violated nor abused without provoking the Divine displeasure. It is this preservative principle alone that prevents the choicest blessings and most estimable qualities from cherishing in human hearts an ungrateful and counteracting spirit of insolence and pride—a spirit which led the Virginians too soon to plant the rankest weeds of tyranny in that field where the seeds of liberty had been so happily sown.

The company had received orders from the king to transport to Virginia a hundred idle dissolute persons who were in custody for various misdemeanours in London [7]. These men were dispersed through the colony as servants to the planters; and the degradation of the colonial character and manners, produced by such an intermixture, was overlooked, in consideration of the assistance that was derived from them in executing the plans of industry that were daily extending themselves. Having

[7] Stith, p. 167. — Captain Smith observes, that since his departure from the colony, the number of felons and vagabonds transported to Virginia brought such evil report on the place "that some did choose to be hanged ere they would go thither, *and were.*" Not long after the massacre in 1622, however, he remarks, that "there are more honest men now suitors to go, than ever have been constrained knaves." Many persons have been transported as felons to America whom no community would be ashamed to recognize as fellow citizens. The crews of the first squadron conducted by Columbus to America were partly composed of convicts, pardoned on condition of undertaking the voyage. In the reign of Charles II., before the voluntary emigration of the Quakers, a considerable number of these sectaries were transported as felons to America.

once associated felons with their labours, and committed the cultivation of their fields to servile hands, the colonists were prepared to yield to the temptation which speedily presented itself, and to blend in barbarous combination the character of oppressors with the claims and condition of freemen. A Dutch ship, from the coast of Guinea, having sailed up James River, sold a part of her cargo of Negroes to the planters[8]; and as that hardy race was found more capable of enduring fatigue in a sultry climate than Europeans, the number was increased by continual importation, till a large proportion of the inhabitants of Virginia were reduced to a state of slavery by the selfish ingratitude of men who turned into a prison for others the territory that had proved a seat of liberty and happiness to themselves.

1620.

Introduction of negro slavery.

But, about this time, another addition, more productive of virtue and felicity, was made to the number of the colonists. Few women had as yet ventured to cross the Atlantic; and the English being restrained by the pride and rigidity of their character from that incorporation with the native Americans which the French and Portuguese have found so conducive to their interests, and so accordant with the pliancy of their manners and disposition, were generally destitute of the comforts and connexions of married life. Men so situated could not regard Virginia as a permanent residence, but proposed to themselves, after amassing a competency of wealth as expeditiously as possible, to return to their native country. Such views are inconsistent with patient industry, and with those extended interests that produce or support patriotism; and under the more liberal system which the company had now begun to pursue

Migration of young women from England to Virginia.

[8] Beverley, Hist. of Virginia, p. 37.

BOOK I.

towards the colony, it was proposed to send out a hundred young women of agreeable persons and
1620. respectable characters, as wives for the settlers. Ninety were accordingly sent, and the speculation proved so profitable to the company, that a repetition of it was suggested by the emptiness of their ex-
1621. chequer in the following year, and sixty more were collected and sent over. They were immediately disposed of to the young planters, and produced such an accession of happiness to the colony, that the second consignment fetched a better price than the first. The price of a wife was estimated first at a hundred and twenty, and afterwards at a hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco, of which the selling price was then three shillings per pound; and the subject of the transaction was held to impart its own dignity to the debt, which accordingly was allowed to take precedence of all other engagements[9]. The young women were not only bought with avidity, but received with such fondness, and so comfortably established, that others were invited to follow their example, and virtuous sentiments and provident habits spreading daily among the planters, enlarged the happiness and prosperity of the colony. To the blessings of marriage naturally succeeded some provision for the benefits of education. A sum of money had been collected by the English bishops by direction of the king, for the maintenance of an institution in Virginia for the christian education of Indian children; and in emulation of this good example, various steps were taken by the company towards the

[9] Stith, p. 166, 197.—A very different account has been transmitted to us of the first female emigration to Canada. About the middle of the seventeenth century the French government sent out several ship loads of *prostitutes* to this province, as wives to the settlers. Though the demand was so pressing that they were all disposed of in less than fifteen days, the colonists showed more regard to virtue in selecting their mates than their government had done in assorting the cargo. The fattest, we are told, were in most request, being judged least active and volatile (consequently, it was hoped, most faithful), and best able to endure the cold.—Nouveaux Voyages de La Hontan, Vol. i. Lettre ii.

foundation of a colonial college, which was afterwards completed by William and Mary.

1621.

It is remarkable that the rise of liberty in America was nearly coeval with her first dispute with the government of the mother country, and that the earliest of those dissensions, which in a succeeding generation were destined to wrest America from England, occurred with a province long distinguished for the ardour of its loyalty to the English crown. With the increasing industry of the colony, the produce of its tobacco-fields became more than sufficient for the consumption of England, where its disposal, too, was severely hampered by the weak and unsteady counsels of the king, in granting monopolies for the sale of it, in limiting the quantities to be imported, in appointing commissioners "for garbling the drug called tobacco," with arbitrary powers to seize whatever portions of it they might consider of inferior quality, in loading the importation with a heavy duty, and, at the same time, encouraging the import of Spanish tobacco. The company, harassed by these vexatious regulations, had opened a trade with Holland, and established warehouses there, to which they sent their tobacco directly from Virginia; but the king interposed to prohibit such evasion of his revenue, and directed that all the Virginia tobacco should be brought in the first instance to England. A lengthened and acrimonious dispute arose between this feeble prince and the colonists and colonial company. Against the monopoly established in England, they petitioned the House of Commons; and in support of their right to trade directly with Holland, they both contended for the general privilege of Englishmen to carry their commodities to the best market, and pleaded the particular concessions of their charter, which expressly conferred on them unlimited liberty of commerce. At length, the dispute was adjusted

Disputes between the king and the colony.

BOOK I. 1622.

by a compromise, by which the company obtained, on the one hand, the exclusive right of importing tobacco into the kingdom, and engaged, on the other, to pay an import duty of ninepence per pound, and to send all the produce of Virginia to England [1].

But a cloud had been for some time gathering over the colony, and even the circumstances that most forcibly indicated the growing prosperity of the planters were but inviting and enabling the storm to burst with more destructive violence on their heads. Externally at peace with the Indians, unapprehensive of danger, and wholly engrossed with the profitable cultivation of their fertile territory, their increasing numbers had spread so extensively over the province, that no less than eighty settlements had already been formed; and every planter being guided only by his own convenience or caprice in the choice of his dwelling, and more disposed to shun than to court the neighbourhood of his countrymen, the settlements were universally straggling and uncompact [2]. The Scriptures, which the colonists received as their rule of faith, bore ample testimony to the cruelty and treachery of mankind in their natural state; and their past experience might have convinced them that the savages by whom they were surrounded could claim no exemption from this testimony of Divine wisdom and truth. Yet the pious labours by which the evil dispositions of the Indians might have been overcome, and the military exercises and precautions by which their hostility might have been overawed or repelled, were equally neglected by the colonists, while, at the same time, they contributed to fortify the martial habits of the Indians by employing them as hunters, and enlarged their resources of destruction by furnishing them with fire-arms, which they quickly learned to use with dexterity. The marriage

[1] Stith, p. 198—203, 243—248. [2] Smith, B. iv.

of Mr. Rolfe and Pocahontas had not produced as lasting a good understanding between the English and the Indians as it had at first seemed to betoken. 1622. The Indians eagerly courted a repetition of such intermarriages, and were deeply offended with the pride with which the English receded from their advances, and declined to become the husbands of Indian women[3]. The colonists forgot that they had inflicted this mortification; but it was remembered by the Indians, who never forgot or forgave an affront. Numberless earnest recommendations had been transmitted from England to attempt the conversion of the savages; but these recommendations had not been enforced by a sufficient attention to the means requisite for their execution. Yet they were not wholly neglected by the colonists. Some attempts at conversion were made by a few pious individuals, and the success of one of them undoubtedly mitigated the dreadful calamity that was impending; but these efforts were feeble and partial, and the majority of the colonists had contented themselves with cultivating a friendly intercourse and intimate acquaintance with the Indians, who were admitted at all times into their habitations, and encouraged to consider themselves as familiar guests[4]. It was in the midst of this free and unguarded intercourse that the Indians formed, with cold and unrelenting deliberation, the plan for a general massacre of the English, which should involve every man, woman, and child in the colony in indiscriminate slaughter. The death of Powhatan, in 1618, devolved the power of executing

Conspiracy of the Indians.

[3] Beverley, p. 25, 26.

[4] Stith, p. 210. — To the remonstrances of some persons in the colony against their worship of demons, some of the Indians of Virginia answered that they believed in two great spirits, a good and an evil one; that the first was a being sunk in the enjoyment of everlasting indolence and ease, who showered down blessings indiscriminately from the skies, leaving men to scramble for them as they chose, and totally indifferent to their concerns; but that the second was an active jealous spirit, whom they were obliged to propitiate that he might not destroy them.—Oldmixon, i. 283.

BOOK I. a scheme so detestable into the hands of a man fully capable of contriving and maturing it. Opechan-

1622. canough, who succeeded, not only to the supremacy over Powhatan's tribe, but to his influence over all the neighbouring tribes of Indians, was distinguished by his fearless courage, his profound dissimulation, and a rancorous hatred and jealousy of the new inhabitants of America. He renewed the pacific treaty[5] which Powhatan had made, and faithfully kept, with the English after the marriage of Pocahontas to Mr. Rolfe; and he availed himself of the tranquillity it produced to prepare, during the four ensuing years, his friends and followers for the several parts they were to act in the tragedy he projected. The tribes in the neighbourhood of the English, except those on the eastern shore, whom, on account of their peculiar friendship for the colonists, he did not venture to intrust with the plan, were successively gained over; and all co-operated with that single-mindedness and intensity of purpose characteristic of a project of Indian revenge. In a tribe of savage idolaters, the passions of men are left unpurified by the influence of religion, and unrestrained by a sound or elevated morality; and human character is not subjected to that variety of impulse and impression which it undergoes in civilized society. The sentiments inculcated, and the dispositions contracted, in the family and in the tribe, in domestic education and in public life, in all the scenes through which the savage passes from his cradle to his grave, are the same; there is no contest of opposite principles or conflicting habits to dissipate his mind or weaken its determinations; and the system of morals (if it may be so called) which he embraces, being the offspring of wisdom and dis-

[5] Stith, p. 155.—Opechancanough, in imitation of the English, had built himself a house, and was so delighted with the contrivance of a lock and key, that he used to spend whole hours in the repetition of the experiment of locking and unlocking his door.—Oldmixon, i. 238.

positions congenial to his own, a seeming dignity arises from the vigour and consistency of that conduct which his moral sentiments never disturb or reproach. The understanding, unoccupied by objects suitable to its dignity, and unemployed by variety of knowledge, instead of moderating the passions, becomes the instrument of their designs, and the abettor of their violence. Men in malice, but children in understanding; it is in the direction of cunning and dissimulation that the intellectual faculties of savages are chiefly exercised: and such is the perfect harmony between their passions and their reflective powers, that the same delay which would cool the cruelty of more cultivated men, serves but to confirm their ferocity, and mature the devices for its gratification. Notwithstanding the long interval that elapsed between the formation and the execution of their present enterprise, and the perpetual intercourse that subsisted between them and the white people, the most impenetrable secrecy was preserved; and so consummate and fearless was their dissimulation, that they were accustomed to borrow boats from the English to cross the river, in order to concert and communicate the progress of their design[6].

CHAP. II. 1622.

An incident which, though minute, is too curious to be omitted, contributed to sharpen the ferocity of the Indians by the sense of recent provocation. There was a man, belonging to one of the neighbouring tribes, named Nemattanow, who, by his courage, craft, and good fortune, had attained the highest repute among his countrymen. In the skirmishes and engagements which their former wars with the English produced, he had exposed his person with a bravery that commanded their esteem, and an impunity that excited their astonishment. They judged him invulnerable, whom so many wounds seemed to have

[6] Stith, p. 210.

BOOK I. 1622.

approached in vain; and the object of their admiration partook, or at least encouraged, the delusion which seemed to invest him with a character of sanctity. Opechancanough, the king, whether jealous of this man's reputation, or desirous of embroiling the English with the Indians, sent a message to the governor of the colony, to acquaint him that he was welcome to cut Nemattanow's throat. Such a representation of Indian character as this message conveyed, one would think, ought to have excited the strongest suspicion and distrust in the minds of the English. Though the offer of the king was disregarded, his wishes were not disappointed. Nemattanow, having murdered a planter, was shot by one of his servants in an attempt to apprehend him. Finding the pangs of death coming strong upon him, the pride, but not the vanity, of the savage was subdued, and he entreated his captors to grant his two last requests, one of which was that they would never reveal that he had been slain by a bullet, and the other, that they would bury him among the English, that the secret of his mortality might never be known to his countrymen. The request seems to infer the possibility of its being complied with, and the disclosure of the fatal event was no less imprudent than disadvantageous. The Indians were filled with grief and indignation; and Opechancanough inflamed their anger by pretending to share it. Having counterfeited displeasure for the satisfaction of his subjects, he proceeded with equal success to counterfeit placability for the delusion of his enemies, and assured the English that the sky should sooner fall than the peace be broken by him. But the plot now advanced rapidly to its maturity, and, at length, the day was fixed on which all the English settlements were at the same instant to be attacked. The respective stations of the various troops of assassins were assigned

CHAP. II.

1622.

to them; and that they might be enabled to occupy them without exciting suspicion, some carried presents of fish and game into the interior of the colony, and others presented themselves as guests soliciting the hospitality of their English friends, on the evening before the massacre. As the fatal hour drew nigh, the rest, under various pretences, and with every demonstration of kindness, assembled around the detached and unguarded settlements of the colonists; and not a sentiment of compunction, not a rash expression of hate, nor an unguarded look of exultation, had occurred to disconcert or disclose the designs of their well-disciplined ferocity[7].

The universal destruction of the colonists seemed unavoidable, and was prevented only by the consequences of an event which perhaps appeared but of little consequence in the colony at the time when it took place—the conversion of an Indian to the christian faith. On the night before the massacre, this man was made privy to it by his own brother, who communicated to him the command of his king and his countrymen to share in the exploit that would enrich their race with spoil, revenge, and glory. The exhortation was powerfully calculated to impress a savage mind; but a new mind had been given to this convert, and as soon as his brother left him he revealed the alarming intelligence to an English gentleman in whose house he was residing. This planter immediately carried the tidings to James-Town, from whence the alarm was communicated to the nearest settlers, barely in time to prevent the last hour of the perfidious truce from being the last hour of their lives[8].

22 March. Massacre of the colonists.

But the intelligence came too late to be more generally available. At midday, the moment they had previously fixed for this execrable deed, the Indians,

[7] Smith, B. iv. Stith, p. 208, 209.

[8] Smith, B. iv. Stith, p. 212.

BOOK I.

1622.

raising a universal yell, rushed at once on the English in all their scattered settlements, and butchered men, women, and children with undistinguishing fury, and every aggravation of brutal outrage and enormous cruelty. In one hour, three hundred and forty-seven persons were cut off, almost without knowing by whose hands they fell. The slaughter would have been still greater if the English, even in some of those districts where the warning that saved others did not reach, had not flown to their arms with the energy of despair, and defended themselves so bravely as to repulse the assailants, who almost universally displayed a cowardice proportioned to their cruelty, and fled at the sight of arms in the hands even of the women and boys, whom, unarmed, they were willing to attack and destroy[9]. If in this foul and revolting exhibition of humanity some circumstances appear to be referable to the peculiarities of savage life and education, we shall greatly err if we overlook, in its more general and important features, the testimony it has given to the deep depravity of fallen nature. The previous massacre of the French protestants on the day of St. Bartholomew, and the subsequent massacre of the Irish protestants in 1641, present, not only a barbarous people, but a civilized nation and accomplished court, as the rivals of these American savages in perfidy, fury, and cruelty.

The colony had received a wound no less deep and dangerous, than painful and alarming. Six of the members of council, and many of the most eminent and respectable inhabitants, were among the slain; at some of the settlements the whole of their population had been exterminated; at others a remnant had escaped the general destruction by the efforts of despair; and the survivors were impoverished, terrified, and confounded by a stroke that at once be-

[9] Smith, B. iv. Stith, p. 211—214.

reaved them of friends and fortune, and showed that they were surrounded by legions of enemies, whose existence they had never dreamt of, and whose brutality and ferocity seemed to proclaim them a race of fiends rather than men[1]. To the massacre succeeded a vindictive and exterminating war between the English and the Indians; and the colonists were at last provoked to retaliate, in some degree, on their savage adversaries, the evils of which they had set so bloody an example, and which seemed to be the only weapons capable of waging effectual war upon them. Yet though a direful necessity might seem to justify or palliate the measures which it taught the colonists to apprehend and provide for, their warfare was never wholly divested of honour and magnanimity. During this disastrous period, the design for erecting a colonial college, and many other public institutions, was abandoned; the number of the settlements was reduced from eighty to six; and the affliction of scarcity was added to the horrors of war[2].

1622.

When intelligence of this calamity arrived in England, it excited, with much disapprobation of the defective policy and inefficient precautions of the Company, a powerful sympathy with the danger and distress of the colonists. By order of the king, a

[1] It was long before any of the British colonists were properly on their guard against the characters of men capable of such consummate treachery, and who "in anger were not, like the English, talkative and boisterous, but sullen and revengeful." Trumbull's Connecticut, i. 44.

[2] Stith, p. 219, 235, 238. As far as I am able to discover, the retaliatory deceit practised by the colonists in their hostilities with the Indians has been greatly overrated. Through the cloud of passion and astonishment that the massacre excited, the truth was not easily discerned. Stith seems to have mistaken expressions of indignation for deliberate designs; and Dr. Robertson has magnified the error by mistaking purposes for the execution they never attained. Stith has, with surprising inaccuracy, charged Captain Smith with declaring, that the massacre was a fortunate circumstance, inasmuch as it entitled the colonists to treat the Indians as slaves, or utterly to extirpate them. Stith, p. 233. Whereas Smith recites this barbarous undervalue of the massacre, only to condemn it. Smith, B. iv. See note II. The contemplation, and especially the endurance of cruelty, tends to make men cruel;—yet, to the honour of the colonists be it remembered, that even during the prevalence of these hostilities, a deliberate attempt to cozen and subjugate a body of Indians was prosecuted as an offence against the law of God, and the laws of nature and nations. Stith, p. 240.

BOOK I.

1622.

supply of arms from the Tower was delivered to the treasurer and company; and vessels were despatched with cargoes of such articles as the exigency of the time seemed to render most pressingly requisite. Captain Smith submitted to the company a project, which he offered to conduct, for effecting the restoration of peace by the expulsion or subjugation of the savages; but, though generally approved, it was not adopted[3]. By dint of the exertions they made in their own behalf, with the assistance of the supplies that were actually sent to them from England, the colonists were barely saved from perishing with hunger; and it was not till after a long struggle with their calamities, that they were at length enabled again to resume their prospects and extend their settlements[4].

Dissensions of the London company.

More ample supplies, and more active assistance, would have been rendered to the colonists from England, but for the dissensions among the patentees, which had been spreading for a considerable period, and had at this juncture attained a height that manifestly tended to the dissolution of the corporation. The company was now a numerous body, and being composed of able and enterprising men drawn from every class in society, it represented very faithfully the state of party feeling in the nation; while its frequent courts afforded a convenient arena in which the parties tried their strength, and a powerful organ by which the prevailing sentiments were publicly expressed. At every meeting, the proceedings were impeded by the intrigues of rival factions, and the debates inflamed and lengthened by their vehement altercations[5]. At every election, the offices of the company were courted and contested by the most

[3] Stith, p. 232, 234.

[4] Even in December, 1623, the scarcity was so great, that 10*l.* sterling was paid for a hogshead of meal, and 3*l.* sterling for a hen and eight chickens, in Virginia. Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 1806.

[5] Stith, p. 254, &c.

eminent persons in the state. The distinction between the court party and the country party that was spreading through the nation, was the more readily insinuated into the counsels of the company[6] from the infrequency and irregularity of its more legitimate theatre, the parliament; and various circumstances in the history of the company tended to fortify and maintain this distinction. Many of the proprietors, dissatisfied with the slender returns that the colony had yielded, were disposed to blame the existing officers and administration for the disappointment of their hopes: not a few resented the procurement of the third charter, the exclusion of Captain Smith from the direction which he had shown himself so well qualified to exercise, and the insignificance to which they were themselves condemned by the arbitrary enlargement of the association; and a small but active and intriguing party, who had laboured with earnest but unsuccessful rapacity to engross the offices of the company, to usurp the direction of its affairs, and to convert the trade of the colony into their own private patrimony by monopolies which they bought from needy courtiers, naturally ranged themselves on the side of the court, and by their complaints and misrepresentations to the king and privy council, sought to interest them in the quarrels, and infect them with suspicions of the corporation[7]. At the head of this least numerous but most dangerous faction, was the notorious Captain Argal, who continued to display a rancorous enmity to the liberty of the colony, and hoped to compass by intrigue and servility at home the same objects which he had pursued by tyranny and violence abroad. Sir Thomas Smith too, the treasurer, whose predilection for arbitrary government we have already had occasion to notice, encouraged every

CHAP. II. 1623.

[6] Stith, p. 207. [7] Ibid. p. 219—226.

BOOK I. 1623.

complaint and proposition that tended to abridge the privileges of the colony, and give to its administration a less popular form. The arbitrary alterations of the charter taught all the malcontents to look up to the crown for such further changes as might remove the existing obstructions to their wishes; and the complete ascendency which the country party acquired in the company, strongly disposed the king to suppress or modify an institution that served to cherish public spirit and disseminate liberal opinions. The spirit which the company had displayed in their late dispute with him concerning the restrictions of their tobacco trade, the freedom with which his policy had been canvassed in their deliberations; the firmness with which his measures had been resisted, and the contempt they had shown for the supremacy alike of his wisdom and his prerogative in complaining to the House of Commons, eradicated from the mind of James all that partiality to an institution of his own creation, that might have sheltered it from the dislike and suspicion with which he regarded the influence of a popular assembly. But the same influence that rendered them odious, caused them also to appear somewhat formidable, and enforced some attention to equitable appearances, and deference to public opinion in wreaking his displeasure upon them. The murmurs and discontents that were excited by the intelligence of the massacre, furnished him with an opportunity which he did not fail to improve. Having signalised his own concern for the misfortunes of the colony by sending thither a supply of arms for defence against the Indians, and by issuing his orders to the company to despatch an ample supply of provisions, he proceeded to institute an inquiry into the cause of the disaster, and

May. the conduct of the company. A commission was directed to certain of the English judges and other

persons of distinction, requiring them to examine the transactions of the company since its first establishment, and to report to the privy council the causes that might seem to them to have occasioned the misfortunes of the colony, and the measures most likely to prevent their recurrence [8]. To obstruct the efforts which the company might have made in their own vindication, and to discover, if possible, additional matter of accusation against them, measures still more violent and arbitrary were resorted to. All their charters, books, and papers, were seized, two of their principal officers were arrested, and all letters from the colony intercepted and carried to the privy council. Among the witnesses whom the commissioners examined was Captain Smith, who might reasonably be supposed to entertain little favour for the existing constitution of the company, by which his career of honour and usefulness had been abridged, and who had recently sustained the mortification of seeing his offer to undertake the defence of the colony and subjugation of the Indians disregarded by the company, notwithstanding the approbation of a numerous party of the proprietors [9]. Smith ascribed the misfortunes of the colony, and the slenderness of the income that had been derived from it, to the neglect of military precautions; the rapid succession of governors, which inflamed the rapacity of their dependents; the multiplicity of offices, by which industry was loaded and emolument absorbed; and, in general, to the inability of a numerous company to conduct an enterprise so complex and arduous. He recommended the annexation of the colony to the crown, the introduction of greater simplicity and economy into the frame of

[8] Stith, p. 298.

[9] Smith, B. iv.

BOOK I. its government, and an abandonment of the practice of transporting criminals to its shores [1].

1623. The commissioners did not communicate any of their proceedings to the company, who were first apprised of the terms of the report by an order of

October. the king and privy council, signifying to them that the misfortunes of Virginia had arisen from their misgovernment, and that, for the purpose of repairing them, his majesty had resolved to revoke the old charter and issue a new one, which should commit the powers of government to fewer hands. In order to quiet the minds of the colonists, it was declared that private property should be respected, and all past grants of land remain inviolate. An instant surrender of their privileges was required from the company; and, in default of their voluntary submission, they were assured that the king had resolved to enforce his purpose by process of law [2].

This arbitrary proceeding excited such surprise and consternation in the assembled court of proprietors, that a long and deep silence followed the reading of the order of council. But resuming their spirit, they proposed to defend their rights with a resolution which, if it could not avert their fate, at least redeemed their character. They indignantly refused to sanction the stigma affixed to their con-

[1] Smith, B. iv. Smith's answers to the commissioners demonstrate his usual good sense, moderation, and humanity. He warmly commends the active and disinterested efforts of many of the leading members of the company for the advantage of the colony. Great errors, he observes, had been committed in the administration of its affairs; but he declines to particularise the faults of any one individual—adding, "I have so much ado to amend my own, I have no leisure to look into any other man's particular failings."

[2] Stith, p. 303, 304. It was in the midst of those distractions, says Stith, that the Muses for the first time opened their lips in North America. One of the earliest literary productions of the English colonists was a translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses, composed in 1623 by George Sandys, treasurer of the Virginia company. It was afterwards published in England, and dedicated to Charles the First. Stith terms it "a laudable performance for the times;" and Dryden mentions the author with respect in the preface to his own translations from Ovid.

duct by the order of council, to surrender the franchises which they had legally obtained, and on the faith of which they had expended large sums of money, or to consent to the abolition of a popular government, and deliver up their countrymen in Virginia to the dominion of a narrow junto dependent on the pleasure of the king. In these sentiments they persisted in spite of all the threats and promises by which their firmness was assailed; and by a vote, which only the dissent of Captain Argal and seven of his adherents rendered not quite unanimous, they finally rejected the king's proposal, and declared their determination to defend themselves against any process he might institute. Incensed at their presumption in disputing his will, James directed a writ of *quo warranto* to be issued against the company, in order to try the validity of their charter in the King's Bench. In the hope of collecting additional proofs of their maladministration, he despatched commissioners to Virginia to inspect the state of the colony, and to endeavour to form a party there opposed to the pretensions of the company. The commissioners finding the colonial assembly embodied, endeavoured with great artifice and magnificent promises of military aid, and other marks of royal favour, to detach them from their connexion with the company, and to procure an address to the king, expressive of "their willingness to submit themselves to his princely pleasure in revoking the ancient patents." But their endeavours were unsuccessful. The assembly transmitted a petition to the king, acknowledging their satisfaction to find themselves the objects of his especial care, beseeching him to continue the existing form of government, and soliciting, that if the promised military force should be granted to them, it might be subjected to the control of their own governor and

CHAP. II.

1623.

1624.

February.

37203

BOOK I. 1624.

house of representatives [3]. This was the last assembly that Virginia was to enjoy for a considerable period. Its domestic legislation was marked by the same good sense and patriotism that appeared in the reception which it gave to the propositions of the royal commissioners. The governor was deprived of an arbitrary authority which he had hitherto exercised. It was enacted that he should no longer have power to withdraw the inhabitants from their private labours to his own service, and should levy no taxes on the colony but such as the general assembly should impose and appropriate. Various other wise and judicious laws were enacted, for the reformation of manners, the support of divine worship, the security of civil and political freedom, the regulation of traffic with the Indians, and the observance of precautions conducive to the general safety [4].

Whether the suit between the king and the company was prosecuted to an issue or not, is a point involved in some uncertainty, and truly of very little importance; for the issue of a suit between the king and the subject in that age, could never be doubtful for a moment. Well aware of this, the company looked to protection more efficient than the law could afford them, and presented a petition to the House of Commons, enumerating their grievances, and soliciting redress [5]. Their application was entertained by the House so cordially, that had it been presented at an earlier period it might have saved the corporation; but they had deferred this last resource till so late a period of the session, that there was not time to enter on so wide an inquiry; and fearing to exasperate the king by preferring odious charges which they could not hope to substantiate, they confined their pleading before the House to the discou-

[3] Stith, p. 304—318. [4] Ibid. p. 318—322.
[5] Ibid. p. 324.

ragement of their tobacco trade, which the Commons accordingly voted to be a grievance. They gained no other advantage from their complaint, nor from their limitation of it. The king, enraged at their presumption, and encouraged by their timidity, issued a proclamation, suppressing the courts of the company, and committing the temporary administration of the colonial affairs to certain of his privy counsellors in conjunction with Sir Thomas Smith and some other gentlemen [6]. The company was thus dissolved, and its rights and privileges re-absorbed by the crown [7].

CHAP. II. 1624. July. The company dissolved.

James did not suffer the powers he had resumed to remain long unexercised. He issued, very shortly afterwards, a special commission, appointing a governor and twelve counsellors, to whom the entire direction of the affairs of the colony was intrusted. No mention was made of a house of representatives; nor had the king the slightest intention to permit the continuance of any such body. The commission ascribes the disasters of the settlement to the popular shape of the late system, which had intercepted and weakened the beneficial influence of the king's superior understanding, and, in strains of the most vulgar and luscious self-complacency, anticipates the prosperity which the colony must

August. The king assumes the government of the colony—

[6] Stith, p. 326—328. Smith, B. iv. p. 168. Rymer, vol. xvii. p. 609. Hazard, p. 183.

[7] It is stated by Chalmers, and repeated by Gordon, Robertson, and Marshall, that in the process of *quo warranto*, judgment was pronounced against the company in June, 1624. Robertson refers to the commission in August, 1624, which no doubt contains a clause setting forth that the *quo warranto* had been issued, and adding, that the charter was now legally annulled. The same form of words occurs in the prior proclamation in July, 1624: but no judgment of the court of King's Bench is either expressly mentioned or referred to. Captain Smith, on the other hand, after mentioning the writ of *quo warranto*, refers not to any judgment upon it, but to the proclamation in July, as having dissolved the company. B. iv. p. 168. Stith likewise asserts expressly, that this proclamation was issued while the *quo warranto* was depending, and that no judgment on the *quo warranto* was ever pronounced, p. 329, 330. It is very immaterial whether the king accomplished his arbitrary purpose by superseding or perverting the forms of law.

BOOK I.

rapidly attain when blessed with the directer rays of royal wisdom [8]. With this subversion of liberty, there was mingled, however, some attention to the interests of the colonists; for, in consequence of the remonstrance of the English parliament, he issued a proclamation renewing his former prohibition of the culture of tobacco in England, and restricting the importation of it to Virginia and the Somer Isles, and to vessels belonging to British subjects [9]. This was his last public act in relation to the colony; for his intentions of composing a code of laws for its domestic administration were frustrated by his death. He died the first British sovereign of an established empire in America, and closed a reign of which the only illustrious feature was the colonization which he impelled or promoted. To this favourite object, both the virtues and the vices of his character proved subservient. If the merit he might claim from his original patronage of the Virginian colonists, be cancelled by his subsequent efforts to bereave them of their liberties, and if his prosecution of the puritans in their native country be but feebly counterbalanced by his willingness to grant them an asylum in New England;—his attempts to civilize Ireland by colonization, connect him more honourably with the great events of his reign. Harassed by the turbulent and distracted state of Ireland, and averse to resort to military operations, he endeavoured to infuse a new character into its population by planting colonies of the English in the six northern counties of that kingdom. He prosecuted this plan with so much wisdom and steadiness, that in the space of nine years he made greater advances towards the reformation of that kingdom than had been made in the

1624.

September.

1625.

his death.

[8] Rymer, vol. xvii. p. 618. Hazard, p. 189.
[9] Rymer, xvii. p. 621. Hazard, p. 193.

four hundred and forty years that had elapsed since the conquest of it was first attempted, and laid the foundation of whatever affluence and security it has since been enabled to attain [1]. It is difficult to recognise the dogmatical oppressor of the puritans, and the weak and arrogant tyrant of Virginia, in the wise and humane legislator of Ireland. The experience of such inconsistencies of character, suggests the likelihood of their existing more frequently and extensively than they are displayed; enforces candour and indulgence; and abates the fervour both of inordinate dislike and extreme admiration.

The fall of the Virginia company had excited the less sympathy, and the arbitrary proceedings of the king the less odium in England, from the disappointments and calamities of which the settlement had been productive. More than a hundred and fifty thousand pounds [2] had been expended on the colony, and upwards of nine thousand inhabitants had been sent to it from the mother country. Yet at the dissolution of the company, the value of the annual imports from Virginia did not exceed twenty thousand pounds, and its population was reduced to about eighteen hundred persons [3]. The effect of this unprosperous issue in facilitating the overthrow of this corporation, may be regarded as a fortunate circumstance for America; for however unjust and tyrannical were the designs and proceedings of the king, they were overruled to the production of a most important benefit to the colony, in the removal of an institution that would have dangerously loaded and restrained its growing freedom and prosperity. It is an observation of the most eminent teacher of

[1] Leland's Hist. of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 204—213. Hume's England, vol. vi. p. 58—60.

[2] Smith, B. iv. Answer to Quest. vii. of the commissioners.

[3] Chalmers's Annals, p. 69.

BOOK I. 1625.

political science, that of all the expedients that could possibly be contrived to stunt the natural growth of a new colony, the institution of an exclusive company is the most effectual [4]; and the observation is amply confirmed by the experience of history. In surveying the constitutions and tracing the progress of the various colonial establishments which the nations of Europe have successively formed, we find a close and invariable connexion between the decline and the revival of their prosperity, and the ascendency and overthrow of sovereign mercantile corporations [5]. The administration of the Dutch and the English East India companies has demonstrated on a larger and distincter scale how inconsistent the genius of an exclusive company will always prove with the liberty and happiness of its subjects, and what powerful temptations, and not less powerful means, it possesses of sacrificing their lasting advantage to its own immediate profit. A sovereign company of merchants must ever consider their power but as an appendage to their trade, and as deriving its chief value from the means it gives them to repress competition, to buy cheaply the commodities they obtain from their subject customers, and to sell as dearly as possible the articles with which they supply them—that is, to diminish the incitement and the reward of industry to their subjects, by restricting their facility of acquiring what they need, and disposing of what they have. Their mercantile habits prevail over their interest as sovereigns, and lead them not only to prefer transitory profit to permanent revenue, but to adapt their administration to this preference, and to render government subservient to the interest of monopoly. They are almost necessarily led to devolve a large discretionary power on their colonial officers, over whom they retain at the

[4] Smith's Wealth of Nations, B. iv. cap. 7.

[5] Ibid.

same time but a very feeble control. Whether we regard the introduction of martial law into Virginia as the act of the company, or (as it really seems to have been) the act of the treasurer and the colonial governors, the prevalence it obtained displays, in either case, the unjust and arbitrary policy of an exclusive company, or the inability of such a sovereign body to protect its subjects against the oppression of its officers. How incapable a body of this description must be to conduct a plan of civil policy on permanent principles, and how strongly its system of government must tend to perpetual fluctuation, is evinced by the fact, that, in the course of eighteen years, no fewer than ten successive governors had been appointed to preside over the province. Even after the vigorous spirit of liberty, which was so rapidly gaining ground in that age, had enabled the colonists to extort from the company the right of enacting laws for the regulation of their own community, still, as the company's sanction was requisite to give legal establishment to the enactments of the provincial legislature, the paramount authority resided with men who had but a temporary interest in the fate of their subjects and the resources of their territories. While, therefore, we sympathize with the generous indignation which the historians of America have expressed at the tyrannical proceedings by which the company was dissolved, we must congratulate their country on an event which, by the means that led to it, inculcated an abhorence of arbitrary power, and by its operation overthrew a system under which no colony has ever grown up to a vigorous maturity.

CHAP. II. 1625.

Charles the First inherited, with his father's throne, all the maxims that had latterly regulated his colonial policy. Of this he hastened to give assurance to his subjects, by a series of proclamations which he issued soon after his accession to the crown,

March. Charles I. pursues his father's arbitrary views.

BOOK I. 1625.

and which distinctly unfolded the arbitrary principles he entertained, and the tyrannical administration he had determined to pursue. He declared, that, after mature deliberation, he had adopted his father's opinion, that the misfortunes of the colony had arisen entirely from the popular shape of its late administration, and the incapacity of a mercantile company to conduct even the most insignificant affairs of state; that he held himself in honour engaged to accomplish the work that James had begun; that he considered the American colonies to be a part of the royal empire devolved to him with the other dominions of the crown; that he was fully resolved to establish a uniform course of government through the whole British monarchy; and that henceforward the government of the colony of Virginia should immediately depend upon himself. But, unless we should suppose that he meditated even then a violent innovation of the whole British constitution, we must conclude, from the provisions which follow this preamble, that he considered the colonies to stand in a very different relation to him from that which the territory of Great Britain enjoyed, and to have descended to him as a personal estate independent of his crown or political capacity. For he proceeded to declare, that the whole administration of the Virginian government should be vested in a council nominated and directed by himself, and responsible to him alone. While he expressed the utmost scorn of the capacity of a mercantile corporation, he did not disdain to assume its illiberal spirit, and copy its interested policy. As a specimen of the extent of legislative authority which he intended to exert, and of the purposes to which he meant to render it subservient, he prohibited the Virginians, under the most absurd and frivolous pretences, from selling their tobacco to any persons but certain commissioners appointed by himself to pur-

chase it on his own account[6]. Thus the colonists found themselves subjected to an administration that combined the vices of both its predecessors—the unlimited prerogative of an arbitrary prince, with the narrowest maxims of a mercantile corporation; and saw their legislature superseded, their laws abolished, all the profits of their industry engrossed, and their only valuable commodity monopolized, by the sovereign who pretended to have resumed the government of the colony only in order to blend it more perfectly with the rest of the British empire. CHAP. II. 1625.

Charles conferred the office of governor of Virginia on Sir George Yeardley, and empowered him, in conjunction with a council of twelve, to exercise supreme authority there; to make and execute laws; to impose and levy taxes; to seize the property of the late company, and apply it to public uses; and to transport the colonists to England, to be tried there for offences committed in Virginia. The governor and council were specially directed to exact the oaths of allegiance and supremacy from every inhabitant of the colony, and to conform in every point to the instructions which from time to time the king might transmit to them[7]. Yeardley's early death prevented the full weight of his authority from being experienced by the colonists during his short administration. He died in the beginning of the year 1627, and, two years after, was succeeded by Sir John Harvey. During this period, and for many years after, the king, who seems to have inherited his father's prejudices respecting tobacco, continued to harass the importation and sale of it by a series of regulations so vexatious, oppressive, and unsteady, that it is difficult to say whether they excite greater contempt for the fluctuations and caprice of his 1627.

[6] Rymer, xviii. 19. 72. Hazard, 202, 203.
[7] Chalmers, p. 112, 113.

BOOK I.

counsels, or indignant pity for the wasted prosperity and insulted patience of his people[8].

1629. Tyrannical government of Sir John Harvey.

Sir John Harvey, the new governor, proved a fit instrument in Virginia to carry the king's system of arbitrary rule into complete execution. Haughty, rapacious, and cruel, he exercised an odious authority with the most offensive insolence, and aggravated every legislative severity by the rigour of his executive energy[9]. So congenial was his disposition with the system he conducted, and so thoroughly did he personify, as well as administer, tyranny, as not only to attract, but to engross, in his own person, the odium of which a large share was undoubtedly due to the prince who employed him. Of the length to which he carried his arbitrary exactions and forfeitures, some notion may be formed from a letter of instructions by which the royal committee of council for the colonies in England at length thought it

July, 1634. prudent to check his excesses. It signified, that the king, of his royal favour, and for the encouragement of the planters, desired that the interests which had been acquired under the corporation should be exempted from forfeiture, and that the colonists, "*for the present,* might enjoy their estates with the same freedom and privilege as they did before the recalling of the patent[1]." We might suppose this to be the mandate of an eastern sultan to one of his bashaws; and indeed the rapacious tyranny of the governor seems hardly more odious than the cruel mercy of the prince, who interposed to mitigate oppression only when it had reached an extreme which is proverbially liable to inflame the wise with madness, and drive the patient to despair. The most significant comment on the letter is, that Harvey was neither censured nor displaced for the excesses which it commanded him to restrain. The effect, too, which it was cal-

[8] Rymer, xviii. 980. Chalmers, 117. 129. Hazard, i. 234.
[9] Beverley, p. 50. [1] State Papers, *apud* Chalmers, p. 131.

culated to produce, in ascertaining the rights and quieting the apprehensions of the colonists, was counterbalanced by large and vague grants of territory within the province, which Charles inconsiderately bestowed on his courtiers, and which gave rise to numerous encroachments on established possession, and excited universal distrust of the validity of titles and the stability of property. The effect of one of these grants was the formation of the state of Maryland, by dismembering a large portion of territory that had been previously annexed to Virginia. For many years this event proved a source of much discontent and serious inconvenience to the Virginian colonists, who had endeavoured to improve their trade by restricting themselves to the exportation only of tobacco of superior quality, and now found themselves deprived of all the advantage of this sacrifice by the transference of a portion of their own territory to neighbours who refused to unite in their regulations[2]. CHAP. II. 1634.

The restrictions prescribed by the letter of the royal committee, left Harvey still in possession of ample scope to his tyranny; and the colonists respecting, or overawed by, the authority with which he was invested, for a long time endured it without resistance. Roused, at length, by reiterated provocation, and impatient of farther suffering, the Virginians, in a transport of general rage, seized the person of Harvey, and sent him a prisoner to England, along with two deputies from their own body, who were charged with the duty of representing the grievances of the colony and the misconduct of the governor. But their reliance on the justice of the king proved to be very ill founded. Charles was fated to teach his subjects, that if they meant to retain their liberties, they must prepare to defend them; that neither enduring 1636.

[2] Beverley, p. 49. 62.

BOOK I.

patience nor respectful remonstrance could avail to relax or divert his arbitrary purpose; and that if
1636. they would obtain justice to themselves, they must deprive him of the power to withhold it. The inhabitants of Virginia had never irritated the king by disputing, like their fellow-subjects in England, the validity of his civil or ecclesiastical edicts; they had entered into no contest with him, and neither possessed forces nor pretended to privileges which could alarm his jealousy. They had borne extreme oppression (of which he had already evinced his consciousness) with long patience, and even when driven to despair, had shown that they neither imputed their wrongs to him nor doubted his justice. Defenceless and oppressed, they appealed to him as their protector; and their appeal was enforced by every circumstance that could impress a just, or move a generous mind. Yet, so far from commiserating
1637. their sufferings, or redressing their wrongs, Charles regarded their conduct as an act of presumptuous audacity little short of rebellion; and all the applications of their deputies were rejected with calm injustice and inflexible disdain. He refused even to admit them to his presence, or to hear a single article of their charges against Harvey; and, having
April. reinstated that obnoxious governor in his office, he sent him back to Virginia, with an ample renewal of the powers which he had so grossly abused. There, elated with his triumph, and inflamed with rage, Harvey resumed and aggravated a tyrannical sway that has entailed infamy on himself and disgrace on his sovereign, and provoked complaints so loud and vehement that they began to penetrate into England, and produce an impression on the minds of the people which could not be safely disregarded[3].

[3] Chalmers, p. 118, 119, 131. Oldmixon's British Empire in America, i. 240.

It is in those scenes and circumstances in which men feel themselves entirely delivered from restraint, that their natural character most distinctly betrays itself. Enjoying absolute power over Virginia, Charles has inscribed his character more legibly on the history of that province, than of any other portion of his dominions. CHAP. II. 1637.

Had the government of Sir John Harvey been continued much longer, it must have ended in the revolt or the ruin of the colony. So great was the distress it occasioned, as to excite the attention of the Indians, and awaken their slumbering enmity by suggesting the hope of revenge. Opechancanough, the ancient enemy of the colonists, was now far advanced in years; but age had not dimmed his discernment, nor extinguished his animosity. Seizing the favourable occasion presented by the distracted state of the province, he again led his warriors to a sudden and furious attack, which the colonists did not repel without the loss of five hundred men. A general war ensued between them and all the Indian tribes under the influence of Opechancanough[4]. 1638.

But a great change was now at hand, which was to reward the patience of the Virginians with a bloodless redress of their grievances. The public discontents which had for many years been multiplying in England, were now advancing with rapid strides to a full maturity, and threatened the kingdom with some great convulsion. After a long intermission, Charles was forced to contemplate the re-assembling of a parliament; and, well aware of the ill humour which his government at home had excited, he had the strongest reason to dread that the displeasure of the commons would be inflamed, and their worst suspicions confirmed, by complaints and descriptions of the despotism that had been exercised in Virginia. There was yet time to soothe the irritation, and even secure 1639.

[4] Beverley, p. 51.

BOOK I.

1639.

the adherence of a people who, in spite of every wrong, retained a generous attachment to the prince whose sovereignty was felt still to unite them with the parent state: and, from the propagation of the complaints of colonial grievances in England, there was every reason to apprehend that the redress of them, if longer withheld by the king, would be granted, to the great detriment of his credit and influence, by the parliament. To that body the Virginians had applied on a former occasion, and the encouragement they had met with increased the probability both of a repetition of their application and of a successful issue to it. These considerations alone seem to account for the sudden and total change which the colonial policy of the king now evinced. Harvey was recalled, and the government of Virginia committed to Sir William Berkeley, a person not only of superior rank and abilities to his predecessor, but distinguished by every popular virtue of which Harvey was deficient—of upright and honourable character, mild and prudent temper, and manners at once dignified and engaging. A change, not less gratifying, was introduced into the system of government. The new governor was instructed to restore the Colonial Assembly, and to invite it to enact a body of laws for the province, and to improve the administration of justice by introduction of the forms of English judicial procedure. Thus, all at once, and when they least expected it, was restored to the colonists the system of freedom which they had originally derived from the Virginia Company; which had been involved in the same ruin with that corporation, and the recollection of which had been additionally endeared to them by the oppression that had succeeded its overthrow. Universal joy and gratitude was excited throughout the colony by this signal and happy change; and the king, who, amidst

Sir William Berkeley appointed governor.

The popular assembly restored.

the hostility that was gathering around him in every other quarter, was addressed in the language of affection and attachment by this people, seems to have been somewhat struck and softened by the generous sentiments which he had so little deserved; and which forcibly proved to him how cheap and easy were the means by which princes may render their subjects grateful and happy. And yet so strong were the illusions of his self-love, or so deliberate his artifice, that in his answer to an address of the colonists, he eagerly appropriated the praise for which he was indebted to their generosity alone, and endeavoured to extend the application of their grateful expressions even to the administration which he had abandoned in order to procure them[5]. CHAP. II. 1640.

While Charles thus again introduced the principles of the British constitution into the internal government of Virginia, he did not neglect to take precautions for preserving its connexion with the mother country, and securing to England an exclusive possession of the colonial trade. For this purpose Sir William Berkeley was instructed to prohibit all commerce with other nations, and to take a bond from the master of every vessel that sailed from Virginia, obliging him to land his cargo in some part of the king's dominions in Europe[6]. Yet the pressure of this restraint was more than counterbalanced by the liberality of the other instructions; and with a free and mild government, which offered a peaceful asylum, and distributed ample tracts of land to all who sought its protection, the colony advanced so rapidly in prosperity and population, that at the beginning of the Civil Wars it contained upwards of twenty thousand inhabitants[7]. By the vigour and conduct of Sir William Berkeley, the Indian war, after a few 1641.

[5] Beverley, p. 50. Chalmers, p. 119, 120. 133. [6] Ibid. p. 132.
[7] Ibid. p. 125.

BOOK I. 1641.

expeditions, was brought to a successful close: Opechancanough was taken prisoner[8]; and a peace concluded with the savages, which endured for many years.

It was happy for Virginia that the restoration of its domestic constitution was accomplished in this manner, and not deferred till a later period, when it would probably have been accompanied by a restoration of the exclusive company. To this consummation some of the members of that body had been eagerly looking forward; and notwithstanding the disappointment that their hopes had sustained by the redress of those grievances which would have forced their pretensions, they endeavoured to avail themselves of the avidity with which every complaint against the king was received by the Long Parliament, by presenting a petition in the name of the assembly of Virginia, praying for a restoration of the ancient patents and government. This petition, though supported by some of the colonists, who were justly dissatisfied with the discouragement which the puritan doctrines and the preachers of them, whom they had invited from Massachusetts[9], had experienced from the government of Virginia, was, undoubtedly, not the act of the assembly, nor the expression of the prevailing sentiment in the colony. The assembly had tasted the sweets of unrestricted freedom, and were not disposed to hazard or encumber their system of liberty, by re-attaching it to the mercantile corporation from which it had been ori-

[8] Beverley, p. 52, 53. It was the intention of Sir William Berkeley to have sent this remarkable personage to England; but he was shot after being taken prisoner by a soldier, in resentment of the calamities he had inflicted on the province. He lingered under the wound for several days, and died with the pride and firmness of an old Roman. Indignant at the crowds who came to gaze at him on his death-bed, he exclaimed, "If I had taken Sir William Berkeley prisoner, I would not have exposed him as a show to the people." Perhaps he remembered that he had saved the life of Captain Smith, and forgot the numberless instances in which he had exposed other prisoners to public derision and lingering torture.

[9] This transaction will form a part of the History of New England.

ginally derived. No sooner were they apprized of the petition to the House of Commons than they transmitted an explicit disavowal of it; and at the same time presented an address to the king, acknowledging his bounty and favour to them, and desiring to continue under his immediate protection. In the fervour of their loyalty, they enacted a declaration "that they were born under monarchy, and would never degenerate from the condition of their births by being subject to any other government[1]." The only misfortune attending the manner in which the Virginians had regained their liberties, was that it thus allied their partial regards to an authority which was destined to be overthrown in the approaching civil war, and which could no more reward than it deserved their adherence. During the whole of the struggle between the king and parliament in England, they remained unalterably attached to the royal cause; and after Charles the First had been beheaded, and his son driven out of the kingdom, they acknowledged the fugitive prince as their sovereign, and conducted their government under a commission which he transmitted to Sir William Berkeley from Breda[2]. The royal family, though they had little opportunity, during their exile, of cultivating their interest in Virginia, were not wholly regardless of it. Henrietta Maria, the queen mother, obtained the assistance of the French government to the execution of a scheme projected by Sir William Davenant, the poet, of emigrating in company with a large body of artificers, whom he collected in France, and founding with them a new plantation in Virginia. The expedition was intercepted by the

CHAP. II.

1641.

1642.

Virginia espouses the royal cause—

June, 1650.

[1] Chalmers, p. 121, 122. Gordon's Hist. of America, vol. i. p. 62.

[2] Hume's England, vol. vii. p. 205. Chalmers, p. 122. This year a tract was published at London by one Edward Williams, recommending the culture of silk in Virginia.

BOOK I.

English fleet; and Davenant, who was taken prisoner, owed his safety to the friendship of Milton[3].

1650. But the parliament having prevailed over all opposition in England, was not disposed to suffer its authority to be questioned in Virginia. Incensed at this

October. open defiance of its power, it issued an ordinance, declaring that the settlement of Virginia having been founded by Englishmen and English money, and by the authority of the nation, ought to be subordinate to and dependent upon the English commonwealth, and subject to the legislation of parliament; that the colonists, instead of rendering this dutiful submission, had audaciously disclaimed the supremacy of the state, and rebelled against it; and that they were now therefore denounced as notorious robbers and traitors. Not only was all connexion prohibited with these refractory colonists, and the council of state empowered to send out a fleet and army to enforce their obedience to the authority of parliament, but all foreign states were expressly interdicted from trading with any of the English settlements in America[4]. It might reasonably be supposed that this latter restriction would have created a common feeling throughout all the British colonies of opposition to the English government. But the colonists of Massachusetts were much more cordially united by similarity of political sentiments and religious opinions with the leaders of the commonwealth, than by identity of commercial interest with the inhabitants of Virginia. The religious views that had founded their colonial establishment, long regulated all its policy, and prevailed over every other consideration.

[3] Johnson's Life of Milton. Encyclopædia Britannica, v. 688. Davenant repaid Milton's kindness after the Restoration. Cowley, in a poem addressed to Davenant, says,

"Sure 'twas the noble boldness of the muse
Did thy desire to seek new worlds infuse."

[4] Scobel's Acts, 1650, cap. 28.

And no sooner were the people of Massachusetts apprized of the parliamentary ordinance, than they hastened to enforce its prohibition of intercourse with Virginia, by a corresponding enactment of their own legislature[5]. 1650.

The efforts of the parliamentary rulers of England were as prompt and vigorous as their declarations. They quickly despatched a powerful armament under the command of Sir George Ayscue to reduce all their enemies to submission. The commissioners whom they appointed to accompany the expedition were furnished with instructions which, if they reflect credit on the vigour of the parliament, convey a very unfavourable impression of their moderation and humanity. These functionaries were empowered to try, in the first instance, the efficacy of pardons and other peaceful propositions in bringing the colonists to obedience; but if these should prove ineffectual, they were then to employ every act of hostility, to set free the servants and slaves of all the planters who continued refractory, and furnish them with arms to assist in the subjugation of their masters[6]. Such a plan of hostility resembles less a war than a massacre, and suggests the painful reflection that an assembly, possessed of absolute power, and professing the glory of God and the liberty of mankind to be the chief ends for which they held it, never once projected the liberation of the negro slaves in their own dominions, except for the purpose of converting them into an instrument of bloodshed and conquest.

The English squadron, after reducing the colonies in Barbadoes and the other islands to submit to the commonwealth, entered the bay of Chesapeak. 1651.
Berkeley, apprised of the invasion, made haste to hire the assistance of a few Dutch ships which were

[5] Hazard's Historical Collections, vol. I. p. 353.
[6] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 197. Hazard, p. 556.

BOOK I. 1651.

then trading to Virginia, contrary both to the royal and the parliamentary injunctions, and with more courage than prudence prepared to oppose this formidable armament; but though he was cordially supported by the loyalists, who formed the great majority of the inhabitants, he could not long maintain so unequal a contest. Yet his gallant resistance, though unavailing to repel the invaders, enabled him to procure favourable terms of submission to the colony. By the articles of surrender, a complete indemnity was stipulated for all past offences; and the colonists, while they recognised the authority, were admitted into the bosom of the commonwealth, and expressly assured of an equal participation in all the privileges of the free people of England. In particular it was provided that the general assembly should transact as formerly the affairs of the settlement, and enjoy the exclusive right of taxation; and that "the people of Virginia shall have a free trade, as the people of England, to all places and with all nations[7]." Berkeley disdained to make any stipulation for himself with those whom his principles of loyalty taught him to consider as usurpers. Without leaving Virginia, he withdrew to a retired situation, where he continued to reside as a private individual, universally beloved and respected, till a new revolution was again to call him to preside once more over the colony[8].

subdued by the Long Parliament.

But it was the dependence and not the alliance of the colonies, that the rulers of the English commonwealth were concerned to obtain; and in their shameless disregard of the treaty concluded by their commissioners, they signally proved with how little equity absolute power is exercised even by those who have shown themselves most prompt to resent and

[7] Bland's Inquiry into the Rights of the British Colonies.

[8] Beverley, p. 53, 4. Oldmixon's Brit. Emp. in Am. I. 242, 3. Chalmers, p. 124.

most vigorous to resist the endurance of its excesses. Having succeeded in obtaining from the colonies a recognition of the authority which they administered, they proceeded to the adoption of measures calculated to enforce their dependence on England, and to secure the exclusive possession of their increasing commerce. With this view, as well as for the purpose of provoking hostilities with the Dutch, by aiming a blow at their carrying trade[9], the parliament not only forbore to repeal the ordinance of the preceding year, which prohibited commercial intercourse between the colonies and foreign states, but framed another law which was to introduce a new æra of commercial jurisprudence, and to found the celebrated navigation system of England. This remarkable law enacted that no production of Asia, Africa, or America, should be imported into the dominions of the commonwealth, but in vessels belonging to English owners or the inhabitants of the English colonies, and navigated by crews of which the captain and the majority of the sailors should be Englishmen[1]. Willing at the same time to encourage the cultivation of the staple commodity of Virginia, the parliament soon after passed an act confirming all the royal proclamations against planting tobacco in England[2].

1651.

Restraints imposed on the trade of the colony.

1652.

This unjust and injurious treatment kept alive in Virginia the attachment to the royal cause, which was farther maintained by the emigrations of the distressed cavaliers, who resorted in such numbers to Virginia, that the population of the colony amounted to thirty thousand persons at the epoch of the re-

[9] Hume's England, vol. vii. p. 210, 11.

[1] Scobel's Acts, 1651, cap. 22. The germ of this famous system of policy occurs in English legislation so early as the year 1381, when it was enacted by the statute of 5 Rich. II. cap. 3, "that to increase the navy of England, no goods or merchandizes shall be either exported or imported but only in ships belonging to the king's subjects." This enactment was premature, and soon fell into disuse. An act to revive it to a limited extent in 1460, was rejected by Henry the Sixth.

[2] Scobel's Acts, 1652, cap. 2.

BOOK I.

1653.

storation[3]. But Cromwell had now prevailed over the parliament, and held the reins of the commonwealth in his vigorous hands; and though the discontents of the Virginians were secretly inflamed by the severity of his policy and the invidious distinctions which it evinced, their expression was repressed by the terror of his name, and the energy which he infused into every department of his administration; and under the superintendence of governors appointed by him, the exterior, at least, of tranquillity was maintained in Virginia till the period of his death. Warmly attached by similarity of religious and political sentiments to the colonists of Massachusetts, Cromwell indulged them with a dispensation from the commercial laws of the Long Parliament, while he rigorously exacted their observance in Virginia. The enforcement of these restrictions on the obnoxious colonists, at a time when England could neither afford a sufficient market to their produce nor an adequate supply to their wants[4], and while Massachusetts enjoyed a monopoly of the advantages of which they were deprived, strongly impeached the magnanimity of the protector and the fearless justice by which he professed to dignify his usurped dominion, and proved no less burthensome than irritating to the Virginians. Such partial and illiberal policy subverts in the minds of subjects those sentiments which facilitate the administration of human affairs and assure the stability of government, and habituates them to ascribe every burden and restriction which views of public expediency may impose, to causes that provoke enmity and redouble impatience. In the minds of the Virginians it produced not only this evil habit, but other no less unfortunate consequences; for retorting the dislike with which they found themselves treated, and encountering the partiality of their ad-

[3] Chalmers, p. 125.

[4] Ibid. p. 124.

versaries with prejudices equally unjust, they conceived a violent antipathy against all the doctrines, sentiments, and practices that seemed peculiar to the puritans, and rejected all communication of the knowledge that flourished in Massachusetts, from hatred of the authority under whose shelter it grew, and of the principles to whose support it seemed to administer[5]. At length the disgust and impatience of the inhabitants of Virginia could no longer be restrained. Matthews, the last governor appointed by Cromwell, died nearly at the same period with the protector; and the Virginians, though not yet apprized of the full extent of their deliverance, took advantage of the suspension of authority caused by the governor's demise; and having forced Sir William Berkeley from his retirement, unanimously elected him to preside over the colony[6]. Berkeley refusing to act under usurped authority, the colonists boldly erected the royal standard, and proclaimed Charles the Second to be their lawful sovereign; thus venturously adopting a measure which, according to all appearances, involved a contest with the arms of Cromwell and the whole resources of England. Happily for the colony, the distractions that ensued in England deferred the vengeance which

CHAP. II.

1653. Revolt of the colony.

1658. Sir William Berkeley resumes the government.

[5] The prejudices of an old cavalier who had acquired the habit, so general and inveterate in seasons of violent party contentions, of lumping his opinions and taking them in the gross, whether by assent to his friends or opposition to his adversaries, are displayed by Sir William Berkeley in a letter descriptive of the state of Virginia, some years after the Restoration. "I thank God," he says, "there are no free schools nor printing; and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years. For learning has brought heresy and disobedience and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government: God keep us from both!" Chalmers, p. 328.

[6] That Cromwell had meditated some important changes in Virginia, which death prevented him from attempting to realize, may be inferred from the publication of a small treatise at London, in the year 1657, entitled "Public good without private interest," written by Dr. Gatford and dedicated to the Protector. In this little work the Protector is advised to reform the numerous abuses extant in Virginia—the disregard of religion—the neglect of education—and the fraudulent dealings of the planters with the Indians; on all which topics the author descants very forcibly. Of this treatise, as well as of the tracts by Hamer, and Williams, and some others, which I have had occasion to notice elsewhere, I found copies in the library of the late George Chalmers.

BOOK I.

1660. Restoration of Charles II.

the ruling powers had equal ability and inclination to inflict upon it, till the sudden and unexpected restoration of Charles to the throne of his ancestors, converted their imprudent temerity into meritorious service, and enabled them safely to exult in the singularity which they long mentioned with triumph, that they had been the last of the British subjects who had renounced, and the first who had resumed their allegiance to the crown[7].

[7] Oldmixon, i. 244, 5. Beverley, p. 55. Chalmers, p. 124.

CHAPTER III.

The Navigation Act—its Impolicy.—Discontent and Distress of the Colonists.—Naturalization of Aliens.—Progress of the colonial Discontent.—Indian Hostilities.—Bacon's Rebellion.—Death of Bacon—and Restoration of Tranquillity.—Bill of Attainder passed by the Colonial Assembly.—Sir William Berkeley superseded by Colonel Jeffreys.—Partiality of the new Governor—Dispute with the Assembly.—Renewal of Discontents.—Lord Culpeper appointed Governor—Severity and Rapacity of his Administration.—An Insurrection—Punishment of the Insurgents.—Arbitrary Measures of the Crown.—James the Second—augments the Burdens of the Colonists.—Corrupt and oppressive Government of Lord Effingham.—Revolution in Britain.—Complaints of the Colonies against the former Governors discouraged by King William.—Effect of the English Revolution on the American Colonies.—State of Virginia at this Period—Population—Laws—Manners.

CHAP. III.

1660.

THE intelligence of the restoration soon reached America, and excited in the different colonies very different emotions. In Virginia, whose history we must still separately pursue, it was received like the surprising fulfilment of an agreeable dream, and hailed with acclamations of unfeigned and unbounded joy. These sentiments, confirmed by the gracious expressions of esteem and good-will[1] which the king very readily vouchsafed, excited hopes of substantial favour and recompense which it was not easy to gratify, and which were fated to undergo a speedy and severe disappointment. For a short time, however, the Virginians were permitted to indulge their satisfac-

[1] Sir William Berkeley, who made a journey to England to congratulate the king on his restoration, was received at court with distinguished regard; and Charles, in honour of his loyal Virginians, wore at his coronation a robe manufactured of Virginian silk. Oldmixon.

This was not the first royal robe that America supplied. Queen Elizabeth wore a gown made of the silk grass, of which Raleigh's colonists sent a quantity to England. Coxe's Description of Carolana, p. 92.

BOOK I. 1660.

tion, and some of the proceedings of the first colonial assembly that was held after the restoration demonstrate that this event was by no means unproductive of important benefits to them. Trial by jury, which had been discontinued during the usurpation, was now again restored, and judicial proceedings were disencumbered of various abuses and considerably improved. It was enacted that no county should send more than two burgesses to the assembly; and that every district which should "people an hundred acres of land with as many titheable persons," should acquire the privilege of being represented in that body. The church of England was established by law; provision was made for its ministers; and none but those who had received their ordination from some bishop in England, and who should subscribe an engagement of conformity to the orders and constitutions of the established church, were permitted to preach either publicly or privately within the colony[2]. A law was shortly after passed against the importation of quakers under the penalty of five thousand pounds of tobacco on the importers of them; but with a special exception of such quakers as might be transported from England for breach of the laws[3].

The same principles of government which prevailed in England during this reign constantly extended their influence, whether salutary or baneful, across the Atlantic; and the colonies, no longer deemed by the court the mere property of the prince, were recognised as extensions of the British territory, and considered as subject to parliamentary legislation. The strong declarations of the Long Parliament introduced principles which received the sanction of the courts of Westminster Hall, and were thus interwoven with the fabric of English law. In a variety of cases which involved this great constitutional

[2] Chalmers, 245, 6. [3] Ibid. 313.

point, the judges declared that by virtue of those principles of the common law which bind the territories to the state, the plantations were in all respects like the other subordinate dominions of the crown, and like them equally bound by acts of parliament when specially named, or when necessarily supposed within the contemplation of the legislature[4]. The declarations of the courts of justice were confirmed and enforced by the uniform tenor of the parliamentary proceedings; and the colonists soon perceived that although the Long Parliament was no more, it had faithfully bequeathed to its successors the spirit which influenced its commercial deliberations. The House of Commons determined not only to retain the commercial system which the Long Parliament had introduced, but to mature and extend it, to render the trade of the colonies completely subject to parliamentary legislature, and exclusively subservient to English commerce and navigation. No sooner was Charles seated on the throne, than they voted a duty of five per cent. on all merchandize exported from, or imported into, any of the dominions belonging to the crown[5]: and the same session produced the celebrated *Navigation Act*, the most memorable statute in the English commercial code. By this statute (in addition to many other important provisions which are foreign to our present consideration), it was enacted that no commodities should be imported into any British settlement in Asia, Africa, or America, or exported from them, but in vessels built in England or the plantations, and navigated by crews of which the masters and three-fourths of the mariners should be English subjects, under the penalty of forfeiture of ship and cargo; that none but natural-born subjects,

CHAP. III.

1660.

The Navigation Act.

[4] Freeman's Reports, 175. Modern Reports, iii. 159, 160. iv. 225. Vaughan's Reports, 170. 400. Salkeld's Reports, ii. 6.

[5] 12 Car. II. cap. 4.

BOOK I.

or such as had been naturalised, should exercise the occupation of merchant or factor in any English settlement under the penalty of forfeiture of goods and chattels; that no sugar, tobacco, cotton, wool, indigo, ginger, or woods used in dying, produced or manufactured in the colonies, should be shipped from them to any other country than England; and to secure the observance of this regulation, the owners were required before sailing to give bonds with surety for sums proportioned to the rate of their vessels [6]. The restricted articles have been termed *enumerated commodities:* and when new articles of colonial produce, as the rice of Carolina, or the copper ore of the northern colonies, were raised into importance and brought into commerce by the increasing industry of the colonists, they were successively added to the list, and subjected to the same regulations. As some compensation to the colonies for these commercial restraints, the parliament at the same time conferred on them the exclusive supply of tobacco, by prohibiting its cultivation in England, Ireland, Guernsey, or Jersey [7]. The navigation act was soon after enlarged, and additional restraints imposed by a new law, which prohibited the importation of European commodities into the colonies, except in vessels laden in England, and navigated and manned according to the provisions of the original statute. More effectual provision was made by this law for inflicting the penalties attached to the transgression of the navigation act; and the principles of commercial policy on which the whole system is founded were openly avowed in a declaration that, as it was the usage of other nations to keep the trade of their plantations to themselves, so the colonies that were founded and peopled by English subjects ought to be retained in firm dependence upon England,

1660.

1663.

[6] 12 Car. II. cap. 18. [7] Ibid. cap. 34.

CHAP. III.

1663.

and made to contribute to her advantage in the employment of English shipping, the vent of English commodities and manufactures, and the rendering of England a staple, not only of the productions of her colonies, but also of such commodities of other countries as the colonies themselves might require to be supplied with[8]. Advancing a step further in the prosecution of its encroaching policy, the parliament proceeded to tax the trade of the several colonies with each other; and as the act of navigation had left all the colonists at liberty to export the enumerated commodities from one settlement to another without paying any duty, this exemption was subsequently withdrawn, and they were subjected to a tax equivalent to what was levied on the consumption of these commodities in England[9].

The system pursued and established by these regulations, of securing to England a monopoly of the trade of her colonies by shutting up every other channel which competition might have formed for it, and into which interest might have caused it preferably to flow, excited the utmost disgust and indignation in the minds of the inhabitants of the colonies, and was justly denounced by them as a manifest violation of the most sacred and undoubted rights of mankind. In England it was long applauded as a masterpiece of political sagacity, enforced and cherished as a main source of opulence and power, and defended on the plea of that expediency which its supposed advantages were held so abundantly to demonstrate. But the philosophy of political science has amply refuted this illiberal doctrine, and would long ago have corrected the views and amended the institutions which it was thought to sanction, but that, from the prevalence of various jealousies, and of those obstinate and passionate prepossessions that constitute wilful ignorance, the effects of philosophy have much

[8] 15 Car. II. cap. 7.

[9] 25 Car. II. cap. 7. Anno 1672.

BOOK I.

1663.

more frequently terminated in the production of knowledge merely speculative, than exercised any visible operation in the improvement of human conduct, or the increase of human happiness. Nations, biassed by enmities to their neighbours, as well as partialities to themselves, have suffered an illiberal jealousy of other states to contract the views they have formed of their own interests, and to induce a line of policy of which the operation is to procure a smaller portion of exclusive gains, in preference to a larger contingent in the participation of a general advantage. Too gross sighted to use, or too passionate to feel, the bonds that connect the interests of all the members of the great family of mankind, they have accounted the exclusion of their rivals equivalent to an extension of the advantages reserved to themselves; committing herein the same error that pervades the policy of slave owners, and leads them to suppose that, to inflict depression and privation on others, is, by necessary consequence, to enhance their own elevation and enrichment. In such mistaken policy nations are apt to be confirmed by the interested representations of the few who contrive to extract a temporary and partial advantage from every abuse, however generally pernicious; and if, in spite of the defects of its policy, the prosperity of the country should be increased by the force of its natural advantages, this effect will be eagerly ascribed to the very causes that abridge, though they may be insufficient to prevent it. The discoveries, however, which the cultivation of political science has yielded, have in this respect confirmed the dictates of religion, and demonstrated that, in every transaction between nations and individuals, the intercourse most solidly and lastingly beneficial to both and each of the parties, is that which is founded on the principles of a fair reciprocity and mutual subservience; that an indisposition to regard the interests of others, implies

a narrow and perverted view of our own; and that to do as we would be done by, is not less the maxim of prudence than the precept of piety. So coherent must true philosophy ever be with the dictates of Divine wisdom. But unfortunately this coherence has not always been recognised even by those philosophers whose speculations have tended to its display; and confining themselves to reasonings, sufficiently clear and convincing, no doubt, to persons contemplating human affairs in the simplicity and disinterested abstraction of theoretical survey, they have neglected to enforce the acceptance of important truths by reference to those principles that derive them from Divine wisdom, and connect them with the strongest sanctions of human duty.

1663.

its impolicy.

They have demonstrated[1] that a parent state by restraining the commerce of her colonies with other nations, depresses the industry and productiveness both of the colonies and of foreign nations; and hence, by enfeebling the demand of foreign purchasers, which must be proportioned to their ability, and lessening the quantity of colonial commodities actually produced, enhances the price of the colonial produce to herself as well as to the rest of the world, and so far diminishes its power to increase the enjoyments and augment the industry of her own citizens as well as of other states. Besides, the monopoly of the colony trade produces so high a rate of profit to the merchants who carry it on, as to attract into this channel a great deal of the capital that would, in the natural course of things, be

[1] Smith's Wealth of Nations, B. iv. cap. 7. The eminent philosopher of whose reasoning I have endeavoured to present a condensed view in this paragraph of the text, is particularly obnoxious to the charge of not merely neglecting, but wilfully suppressing, the recognition of that confirmation which divine testimony derives from an enlarged view of human interests, sentiments, and actions. In the first edition of his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, he could not refrain from avowing the coherence which he plainly observed between the doctrines of divine revelation and the sentiments of men in all ages and nations on the subject of sacrifice and foreign intercession. Part. II. § 2. *ad finem*. But, misled by "science falsely so called," he expunged this passage from the subsequent editions of the work.

BOOK I. 1663.

directed to other branches of trade: and in these branches, the profits must consequently be augmented in proportion to the diminished competition of the capitals employed in them. But whatever raises in any country the ordinary rate of profit higher than it otherwise would be, necessarily subjects that country to great disadvantage in every branch of trade of which she has not the monopoly. Her merchants cannot obtain this higher profit without selling dearer than they otherwise would do, both the commodities of foreign countries which they import into their own, and the goods of their own country which they carry abroad. The country thus finds herself frequently undersold in foreign markets; and the more so, because in foreign states much capital has been forced into these branches by her exclusion of foreigners from her colonial trade, which would have absorbed a part of them. Thus, by the operation of a monopoly of the colonial trade, the parent state obtains an overgrowth of one branch of distant traffic, at the expense of diminishing the advantages which her own citizens might derive from the produce of the colonies, and of impairing all those other branches of nearer trade which, by the greater frequency of their returns, afford the largest and most beneficial excitement to the industry of the country. Her commerce, instead of flowing in a great number of small channels, is taught to run principally in one great conduit; and hence the whole system of her trade and industry is rendered less secure.

But the injurious consequences of this exclusive system are not confined to its immediate operation upon trade. The progress of our history will abundantly show that the connexion which a parent state seeks to maintain with its colonies by the aid of such a system, carries within itself the principles of its

own dissolution. During the infancy of the colonies, a perpetual and vexatious exertion is required from the parent state to enforce and extend her restraining laws, and endeavours no less unremitting are made by the colonies to obstruct or elude their operation. Every rising branch of trade which is left for a time, or for ever, free to the colonists, serves by the effect of contrast, to render more visible the disadvantages of their situation in the regulated branches; and every extension of the restrictions affords an occasion of renewed discontent. As the colonies increase their internal strength, and make advances in the possession and appreciation of national consequence, the disposition of their inhabitants to emancipate themselves from such restraints, is combined with ability to effect their deliverance, by the very circumstances, and at the very period, which will involve the trade of the parent state in the greatest loss and disorder. And the advantages which the commerce of other nations must expect from the destruction of the monopoly, unites the wishes of the whole world with the revolt of the colonies, and gives assurance of the most powerful assistance to effect it.

CHAP. III. 1663.

A better apology for the system which England adopted towards her colonies, than the boasted expediency of her measures would thus appear to supply, may be derived from the admitted fact, that her policy on the whole was much less illiberal and oppressive than that which any other nation of Europe has ever been known to pursue. While the foreign trade of the colonies was restrained, for the supposed advantage of the parent state, whose prosperity they partook, and by whose power they were defended, their internal liberty was suffered to grow up under the shelter of wise and liberal institutions; and even the commercial restrictions imposed on them were much less rigorous and injurious than the colonies of France,

BOOK I.

1663.

Spain, Portugal, and Denmark, were compelled to undergo from their respective parent countries. The trade of the British settlements was not committed, according to the practice of some of these states, to exclusive companies, nor restricted, according to the practice of others, to a particular port; but, being left free to all the subjects, and admitted to all the harbours of England, employed a body of British traders too numerous and dispersed to admit of their superseding mutual competition, and uniting in a general confederacy to oppress the colonies and extort exorbitant profits to themselves. This apology is obviously very unsatisfactory, as every attempt to palliate injustice must necessarily be. It was urged with a very bad grace by the people of England, and utterly disregarded by the inhabitants of America.

Discontent and distress of the colonists.

In none of the American colonies did this oppressive system excite greater indignation than in Virginia, where the larger commerce and pre-eminent loyalty of the people rendered the pressure of the burden more severe, and the infliction of it more exasperating [2]. No sooner was the navigation act known in Virginia, and its effects experienced, than the colony warmly remonstrated against it as a grievance, and petitioned earnestly for relief. But, although the English monarchs were accustomed at this period to exercise a dispensing power over the laws; —in so much that when the court at a later period ventured to adopt a plan of arbitrary government, even the act of navigation itself, so great a favourite with the nation, was suspended for a while by an-

[2] It was to Virginia alone that Montesquieu's justificatory principle of the system of restricted trade could be considered as in any degree applicable. "It has been established," says this writer, "that the mother country alone shall trade in the colonies, and that from very good reason, because the design of the settlement was the extension of commerce, and not the foundation of a city, or of a new empire." Spirit of Laws, B. xxi. cap. 17. This was in some measure true as to Virginia, though its first charter professes more enlarged designs; but it was not true as to New England, Maryland, or the other posterior settlements of the English.

CHAP. III.

1663.

exertion of this stretch of prerogative [3]; yet, during the early period of his reign, Charles, unassured of the stability of his throne, and surrounded by ministers of constitutional principles, was compelled to observe the limits of a legal administration, and to interpose his authority for the enforcement even of those laws that were most repugnant to his principles and wishes [4]. So far from lending a favourable ear to the petition of Virginia, Charles and his ministers adopted measures for carrying the act into strict execution. Intelligence having been received that its provisions were almost as generally disregarded as detested, and that the colonial authorities were not prompt to enforce what they saw was so disagreeable to the persons over whom they presided, instructions were issued to the governors of the settlements, reprimanding them for the "neglects, or rather contempts," which the law had sustained, and enjoining their future attention to its rigid enforcement [5]; and in Virginia, in particular, demonstration was made of the determined purpose of the English government to overcome all resistance to the act, by the erection of forts on the banks of the principal rivers, and the appointment of vessels to cruise on the coast. But, notwithstanding the threatening measures employed to overawe them, and the vigilance with which they were watched, the Virginians contrived to evade the law, and to obtain some vent to the accumulating stores of their depreciated produce by a clandestine trade with the settlement of the Dutch on Hudson's

[3] Hume's England, vii. 477.

[4] When the parliament, in 1666, introduced the unjust and violent act against the importation of Irish cattle into England, the king was so much struck with the remonstrances of the Irish people against this measure, that he not only used all his interest to oppose the bill, but openly declared that he could not give his assent to it with a safe conscience. But the commons were resolute, and the king was compelled to submit. "The spirit of tyranny," says Hume, "of which nations are as susceptible as individuals, had extremely animated the English to exert their authority over their dependent state." vii. 448.

[5] Chalmers, p. 313. State Paper, ibid. p. 260.

BOOK I.

River. The relief, however, was inconsiderable, and the discontents, inflamed by the hostilities which the
1663. frontier Indians now resumed, began to spread so widely as to inspire some veteran soldiers of Cromwell, who had been banished to Virginia, with the hope of rendering themselves masters of the colony, and delivering it from the yoke of England. A conspiracy, which has received the name of *Birkinhead's Plot*, was formed for this purpose; but, having been detected before the design was ripe, it was easily suppressed by the prudence of Sir William Berkeley, and with no farther bloodshed than the execution of four of the conspirators [6].

The distress of the colony continuing to increase with the increasing depreciation of tobacco, now confined almost entirely to one market, and the augmentation of the price of all foreign commodities, now derivable only from the supplies which one country could furnish, various efforts were made from time to time by the colonial assembly for the relief of their constituents. Retaliating to some extent the injustice with which they were treated, it was enacted by a colonial law, that in the payment of debts country creditors should have the priority, and that all courts of justice should give precedence in judgment to contracts made within the colony. Acts were passed for restraining the growth of tobacco; and attempts were made to introduce a new staple, by encouraging the plantation of mulberry trees and the manufacture of silk; but neither of these designs was successful.
1666. Numerous French protestant refugees being attracted to Maryland by a naturalization act which that settlement passed in their favour in the year 1666, the Virginian assembly endeavoured to recruit the wealth and population of its territories from this source, by framing, in like manner, a series of laws which em-

[6] Oldmixon, i. 246. Beverley, p. 59, 60.

powered the governor to confer on aliens taking the oath of allegiance all the privileges of naturalization[7]; but it was provisionally subjoined, that this concession should not be construed to vest aliens with the power of exercising any function which they were disabled from performing by the acts of the English parliament relative to the colonies. This prudent reference to a restriction which the colonial letters of naturalization must inevitably have received from the common law, was intended to guard against the losses and disputes which might ensue from the attempts of the naturalized aliens to infringe the navigation act. But the precaution was unavailing; and at an after period many forfeitures of property were incurred, and much vehement dispute created, by the traffic which aliens in the colonies carried on under the authority of general letters of denization granted to them by the ignorance or inattention of the royal governors. Their pretensions, though flatly opposed to the acts of navigation, were supported by the American courts of justice, but uniformly disallowed by the English government, which, after repeatedly enforcing the principle that the acts of a provincial legislature cannot operate against the general jurisprudence of the empire, at length prohibited the granting of farther denizations[8].

Naturalization of aliens.

[7] It was not till after the Revolution of 1688 that the population of Virginia received any accession from the influx of these or other foreigners. In 1671, Sir William Berkeley thus describes the state of its population,—"There are in Virginia above 40,000 persons, men, women, and children: of which there are 2,000 black slaves, 6,000 christian servants for a short time, and the rest have been born in the country, or have come in to settle, or serve, in hope of bettering their condition in a growing country. Yearly, we suppose, there come in of servants about 1,500, of which most are English, few Scotch, and fewer Irish; and not above two or three ships of negroes in seven years." Answers to the Lords of the Committee of Colonies, *apud* Chalmers, p. 327. The numerous importations of servants mentioned by Sir William Berkeley were probably checked by the troubles that preceded and attended *Bacon's Rebellion*. The later importations were more available than the earlier ones; the diseases of the country having diminished in frequency and violence as the woods were progressively cut down. The mortality among the new comers, we learn from Sir William Berkeley, was at first enormous, but had become very trifling prior to 1671.

[8] Chalmers, p. 314—317. 326.

BOOK I.

1671.

Progress of the colonial discontent.

The discontents in Virginia, so far from being abated by the lapse of time, were maintained by the constant pressure of the commercial restrictions, and the repeated attempts to provide more effectually for their enforcement. Various additional causes concurred to inflame the angry feelings of the colonists; and a considerable native population having now grown up in Virginia, the discontents of these persons were no way abated by the habitual regard and fond remembrance which emigrants retain for the parent state which is also the land of their individual nativity. The defectiveness of their instruction[9] prevented the influence of education from acting in this respect as a substitute to experience; and they knew little of England beyond the wrongs which they heard daily imputed to her injustice. The Indian hostilities, after infesting the frontiers, began to penetrate into the interior of the province; and while the colonists were thus reduced to defend their property at the hazard of their lives, the most alarming apprehensions of the security of that property were created by the large and imprudent grants which the king, after the example of his father, very lavishly accorded to the solicitations of his favourites. The fate of that parent had warned him to avoid, in general, rather the arrogance that provoked, than the injustice that deserved it; and, in granting these applications, without embarrassing himself by any inquiry into their merits, he at once indulged the indolence of his disposition, and exerted a liberality that cost him nothing that he cared for. These

Indian hostilities.

1673.

[9] We have seen Sir William Berkeley, with the prejudice of a cavalier, boast of the absence of the seditious influence of learning, but a few years prior to those violent disturbances by which Virginia was peculiarly distinguished? The commonwealth party, and especially those who were termed Puritans, though reproached as the enemies of literature, were in reality its most successful cultivators, and most zealous patrons. The reproach has been clearly refuted, and their claims ably and successfully vindicated by the Rev. Mr. Orme, in his Life of Dr. John Owen.

grants were not only of such exorbitant extent as to be unfavourable to the progress of cultivation, but, from ignorance or inaccuracy in the definition of their boundaries, were frequently made to include tracts of land that had already been planted and appropriated. Such a complication of exasperating circumstances brought the discontents of the colony to a crisis. In the beginning of the year 1675, two slight insurrections, which were rather explosions of popular impatience than the consequence of matured designs, were easily suppressed by the prudence and vigour of the governor, but gave significant intimation of the state and the tendency of public feeling in Virginia. In the hope of averting the crisis, and obtaining redress of the more recent grievances which were provoking and maturing it, the assembly despatched deputies to England, who, after a tedious negotiation with the king and his ministers, had brought matters to the point of a happy adjustment, when their expectations were frustrated and the proceedings suspended by intelligence of a formidable rebellion in the colony. A tax which had been imposed by the assembly to defray the expense of the deputation, had irritated the discontents which the deputation was intended to compose; and when the dilatory proceedings of the English government, who disdained to allow the intelligence of past insurrections, or the apprehensions of future rebellion, to quicken their diligence, seemed to confirm the assurances of the factious leaders of the colonists, that even their last sacrifice had been thrown away, the tide of rage and disaffection began again to swell to the point of rebellion. It did not long wait for additional provocation to excite, or an able leader to impel, its fury. For, to crown the colonial distress, the war with the Susquehannah Indians, which had continued to prevail notwithstanding all the governor's attempts to suppress it,

1673.

1675.

April.

1676.

BOOK I.

1676.

now burst forth with redoubled rage, and threatened a formidable addition of danger, hardship, and expense. Even the popularity of their long-tried and magnanimous friend, Sir William Berkeley, was overcast by the blackness of this cloud of calamities. The spirit and fidelity with which he had adhered to the colony through every variety of fortune, the earnestness with which he had remonstrated with the English government against the commercial restraints, and the disinterestedness he had shown in declining, during the unprosperous state of the colonial finances, to accept the addition which the assembly had made to his emoluments, were disregarded, denied, or forgotten. To his age and incapacity were attributed the burdens of the people, and the distractions of the times; and he was loudly accused of wanting alike honesty to resist the oppressions of the mother country, and courage to repel the hostility of the savages[1]. Such ungrateful injustice is rarely, if ever, evinced by the people, but when the insidious acts of factious leaders have imposed on their credulity and inflamed their passions. The populace of Holland, when, a few years before this period, they tore in pieces their benefactor John De Witt, were not only terrified by the progress of their national calamities, but deluded by the profligate retainers of the Orange party. To similar influence (and in similar circumstances) were the Virginians now exposed from the artifice and ambition of Nathaniel Bacon.

Bacon's rebellion.

This man had been trained to the profession of the law in England, and, only three years before this period, had emigrated to Virginia. This short interval had sufficed to advance him to a conspicuous situation in the colony, and to indicate the disposition and talents of a popular leader. The consideration he derived from his legal attainments, and the

[1] Beverley, p. 66. Chalmers, p. 329—332.

esteem he acquired by an insinuating address, had quickly procured him a seat in the council, and the rank of colonel in the militia. But his temper was not accommodated to subordinate office, and, unfortunately, the discontents of the colony soon presented him with a sphere of action more congenial to his character and capacity. Young, sanguine, eloquent, and daring, he mixed with the malcontents, and, by his vehement harangues on the grievances under which they laboured, he inflamed their passions and attracted their favour. He was implicated in the insurrection of the preceding year, and had been taken prisoner, but pardoned by the governor; but less affected by the clemency, than encouraged by the impunity which he had experienced, and sensible that the avenue to legitimate promotion was for ever closed against him, he determined to cast in his lot with the malcontent party, and, taking advantage of their present excitation, he now again came forward, and addressed them with artifice which their uninstructed understandings were unable to detect, and eloquence which their untamed passions rendered utterly irresistible. Finding that the sentiments most prevalent with his auditory were the alarm and indignation excited by the Indian ravages, he boldly charged the governor with neglect or incapacity to exert the vigour that was requisite for the general safety; and, having expatiated on the facility with which the whole Indian race might be exterminated, he exhorted them to take arms in their own defence, and accomplish the deliverance they must no longer expect from any other quarter. So acceptable was this address and its author to the disposition of the popular mind, that his exhortation was instantly complied with, and his main object no less successfully effected. A great multitude proceeded to embody themselves for an expedition against the Indians,

BOOK I.

1676.

and, electing Bacon to be their general, committed themselves to his direction. He assured them, in return, that he would never lay down his arms till he had avenged their sufferings and redressed their grievances. To give some colour of legitimacy to the authority he had acquired, and, perhaps, expecting to precipitate matters to the extremity which his interest required that they should speedily reach, he applied to the governor for an official confirmation of the popular election, and offered instantly to march against the common enemy. Berkeley, suspecting his real designs, thought it prudent to temporise, and try the effect of negotiation; but he had to deal with a man whose own artifice kept him on his guard against the snares of others, and who was well aware that promptitude and resolute perseverance alone could extricate him with safety or credit from the dangers of his situation. Pressed for an answer, and finding that the applicants were not to be soothed by his conciliating demeanour, Berkeley issued a proclamation, commanding the multitude, in the king's name, to disperse immediately under the pains of rebellion.

Bacon, no more disconcerted by the vigour of this address than he had been duped by the negotiation that preceded it, instantly marched to James-Town, at the head of six hundred of his followers, and surrounding the house where the governor and assembly were engaged in their deliberations, he demanded the commission which his proceedings and retinue showed how little he either needed or regarded. Berkeley, undismayed by the dangers that environed him, clearly perceived his inability to resist the force of the insurgents, and yet disdained to yield to their pretensions. Confronting with invincible courage the men who had charged him with defect of that virtue, he peremptorily commanded them to depart,

and, when they refused, he presented his breast to their weapons, and calmly awaited the last extremity of their rage. But the council, more considerate of their own safety, and fearful of driving the multitude to despair, hastily prepared a commission, by which Bacon was appointed captain-general of all the forces of Virginia, and, by dint of the most earnest entreaty, at length prevailed with the governor to subscribe it. The insurgents having rewarded their acquiescence with insulting acclamations, retired in triumph; and the assembly no sooner felt themselves delivered from the immediate presence of danger, than, passing from the extreme of timidity to the height of presumption, they voted a resolution annulling the commission they had granted, as extorted by force, denouncing Bacon as a rebel, commanding his followers to deliver him up, and summoning the militia to arms in defence of the constitution. They found too little difficulty in prevailing with the governor to confirm, by his sanction, this indiscreet assumption of a vigour which they were totally incapable of maintaining. The consequences might have been easily foreseen. Bacon and his army, flushed with their recent triumph, and incensed at this impotent menace, which they denounced as the height of baseness and treachery, returned immediately to James-Town, and the governor, unsupported by any effective force that could cope with the insurgents, retired across the bay to Acomack, on the eastern shore. Some of the councillors accompanied him thither; the rest retired to their own plantations; the frame of the colonial administration seemed to be dissolved, and Bacon took unresisted possession of the vacant government.

CHAP. III. 1676.

The authority which he had thus acquired by the vigour of his proceedings, Bacon employed with great address to add strength and reputation to his party. To give to his usurped jurisdiction the appearance of

BOOK 1. 1676.

a legal establishment, he called a convention of the gentlemen of the country, and prevailed with a numerous body of them to pledge themselves by oath to support his authority and resist his enemies. A declaration was published, in the name of this body, setting forth that Sir William Berkeley had wickedly fomented a civil war among the people, and that, after thus violating his trust, he had abdicated the government, to the great astonishment of the country; that the general had raised an army for the public service, and with the public approbation; that the late governor having, as was reported, falsely informed the king that the general and his followers were rebels, and advised his majesty to send forces to subdue them, the welfare of the colony and their true allegiance to his most sacred majesty equally required that they oppose and suppress all forces whatsoever, till the king be fully informed of the true state of the case by such persons as should be sent to him by Nathaniel Bacon, to whom, in the interim, all the inhabitants were required to take an oath of allegiance. It was remarked by the wise, that this declaration, which might have been expected to display the genuine cause of the revolt, mentioned none of the original subjects of discontent; and, hence, they justly suspected that the leader of the insurgents had designs of his own, to which the discontents of his followers were merely subservient, which extended beyond the temporary precaution of hostilities with the Indians, and had already suggested to him a specious plea, on which he proposed to involve the colony in a war with the forces of the mother country. Yet, such was the spirit of the times, and the sympathy with resistance to every branch of an administration which Charles was daily rendering more and more odious and suspected, that, when this declaration was made known in England, it met with

many advocates among the people, and even within the walls of that parliament whose injustice formed the only grievance that Virginia had yet to complain of. CHAP. III. 1676.

Sir William Berkeley, in the mean time, having collected a force from levies among the planters who remained well affected to him, and from the crews of the English shipping on the coasts, commenced a series of attacks on the forces of the usurper, and several sharp encounters ensued between the parties with various success. All the horrors of civil war began to descend on the colony. James-Town was reduced to ashes by the insurgents; the estates of the loyalists were pillaged, their friends and relatives seized as hostages, and the richest plantations in the province were laid waste. The governor was compelled, by the rage of his own partizans, to retaliate these extremities, and even to execute some of the insurgents by martial law; and the animosity of both parties was rapidly mounting to a pitch that threatened a war of mutual extermination. The superiority of the insurgent force had hitherto confined the efforts of the loyalists in the field to mere skirmishing engagements; but the tidings of an approaching armament, which the king had despatched from England under Sir John Berry, to the assistance of the governor, gave promise of a wider range of carnage and desolation. Charles had issued a proclamation, declaring Bacon a traitor and the sole promoter of the insurrection; granting pardon to all his followers who should forsake him, and offering freedom to all slaves who would assist in suppressing the revolt. However elated the loyalists might be with the intelligence of the approaching succour, the leader of the insurgents was no way dismayed by it; and his influence over his followers was unbounded. Conscious now that his power and his life were indissolubly connected, October.

BOOK I.

1676.

he determined to encounter whatever force might be sent against him. He was aware, at the same time, of the importance of striking a decisive blow while the advantage of numbers remained with him; and with this view, having enlarged his resources by proclaiming a general forfeiture of the property of all who either opposed his pretensions or even affected neutrality, he was preparing to take the field, when his career was arrested by that Power which *restrains the remainder of human wrath*, and can wither in an instant the uplifted arm of the destroyer. Happily for his country, and to the manifest advantage not less of his followers than his adversaries, Bacon unexpectedly sickened and died.

Death of Bacon—Jan. 1677.

How entirely this extraordinary man had been the soul of his party, was strikingly evinced by the effect of his death on their sentiments and proceedings. The bands of their confederacy seemed to be cut asunder by the loss of their general, and no successor even attempted to re-unite them. To their sanguine hopes and resolute adherence to Bacon, succeeded mutual distrust and universal despondency; eagerness for battle, and dreams of conquest, gave place to an earnest concern to secure their own safety, and effect an accommodation with the ancient government; and, after a short treaty, they laid down their arms, and submitted to Sir William Berkeley, on condition of receiving a general pardon. Thus suddenly and providentially was dissipated a tempest that seemed to portend the inevitable ruin of Virginia. From the man whose evil genius excited and impelled its fury, this insurrection has been distinguished by the name of *Bacon's Rebellion*. It placed the colony for seven months in the power of that daring usurper, involved the inhabitants during all that period in bloodshed and confusion, and was productive of a devastation of property to the extent of at least a hundred thousand

and restoration of tranquillity.

pounds[2]. To the mother country it conveyed a lesson which she appears never to have understood till the loss of her colonies illustrated its meaning, and the consequence of disregarding it. For, after every allowance for the ability and artifice of Bacon, it was manifest that his influence had been originally derived from the general discontent and irritation occasioned by the commercial restrictions; and it required little sagacity to foresee that these sentiments would be rendered more inveterate and more formidable by the growth of the province, and by the increased connexion and sympathy with the other colonial settlements, which the lapse of time and the habitual consciousness of common interests and grievances would infallibly promote. Had Bacon been a more honest and disinterested leader, this lesson would perhaps have been more clearly expressed, and the rebellion, it is probable, would not have ended with himself. But, instead of sincerely embracing the cause of his associates, he contrived to render their passions subservient to his own ambitious purposes. The assertors of the interests of Virginia were thus converted into the partizans of an individual; and when his presence and influence were withdrawn, they perceived at once that they were embarked in a contest which to themselves had neither interest nor object.

No sooner were the insurgents disbanded, and the legitimate government restored, than Sir William Berkeley convened the colonial assembly, to assist, by its deliberations, in the re-establishment of public

[2] Beverley, 70—76. Oldmixon, i. 250—257. Modern Universal History, xli. 358. Sir William Keith's History of Virginia, p. 156—161. Chalmers, 332—335, 336. An account of the causes and circumstances of this rebellion, differing materially from that which I have adopted, very discreditable to Sir William Berkeley, and proportionably favourable to Bacon, occurs in the Appendix to the first volume of Williamson's History of North Carolina. But it is opposed by all existing evidence, supported by none, and strongly impeached by its own manifest improbability. Williamson's dislike of Sir William Berkeley was probably occasioned by the very unfavourable opinion which Berkeley had expressed of the planters of North Carolina at this period.

BOOK. I.

order. The acts of this assembly have received from some writers the praise of moderation, which, no doubt, they must be admitted to evince in a degree no less honourable than surprising, if we confine our attention to the circumstance of its having met but a few weeks after Bacon's death, when the memory of insults and injuries was recent, when the passions of the parties were yet warm, and the agitations of the contest had barely subsided. By others, they have been loaded with a reproach which they plainly appear to deserve, when we recollect that they were infractions of the treaty with the insurgents. Still, with all their imperfections, they will be admitted by every one who is acquainted with the history of civil commotions, to form a fairer model than the records of any other people have ever transmitted of the moderation of a successful party in a civil war. Bacon, and a few of his principal officers, who had perished in the contest, were attainted; none of the survivors of the party were punished capitally, but a few of the more noted of them were subjected to fines and disabilities; and, with these exceptions, the promise of general indemnity was confirmed by law. An attainder of the dead seems an arrogant attempt of human power to extend its arm beyond the bounds of life, to invade with its vengeance the inviolable dominions of the grave, and to reclaim to the jurisdiction of delegated authority and fallible judgment the offender, who has already been removed by the act of Sovereign Power to abide the decree of its infallible justice. It was probably resorted to on this occasion in order to assert the vindictive power of the law, without infringing the indemnity that had been stipulated to the insurgents. But, in England, it was regarded as an act of sovereignty beyond the competence of a subordinate legislature, and held to be void from defect of power; and all the other acts

Feb. 1677.

Bill of attainder passed by the colonial assembly.

CHAP. III.

of the assembly in relation to the insurgents were disallowed by the king as derogatory to the terms of his proclamation. The attainder, however, was afterwards re-enacted, by passing a bill to that effect, which was framed in England, and transmitted under the great seal to the colonial assembly [3].

1677.

The tardy aid which had been detached from England to the defence of the colonial government, did not reach Virginia till after the complete re-establishment of tranquillity. With the fleet arrived Colonel Jefferys, appointed by the king to signify the recal and succeed to the office of Sir William Berkeley, who now closed in peace an administration of nearly forty years; and shortly after, closing his life, may be said to have died in the service of Virginia. This gallant and honourable man was thus spared the mortification of beholding the injustice with which the royal authority was soon after employed to blacken his fame, and to weaken all those sentiments of loyalty in the colony which it had been the great object of his wishes, and in no small degree the effect of his administration, to cultivate and maintain. Holding all the principles of an old cavalier; endowed with a character well formed to recommend his principles; and presiding in a colony where the prevailing sentiments of the people were congenial with his own, he had hoped to make Virginia an asylum where the loyalty that was languishing in Europe might be renovated by transmigration into a young and growing body politic, and expand to a new and more vigorous maturity. But this was not the destination of the provinces of America. Strongly infected with the prejudices of his age and party, Berkeley was always more willing to make the most generous exertions for a people who committed their interests to his protection, than to enlighten them

April.

Sir William Berkeley superseded by Colonel Jefferys.

[3] Chalmers, 335. 340, 1. Abridgement of the Laws of Virginia, p. 10.

BOOK I. 1677.

with the knowledge that would have enabled them more justly to appreciate and more extensively to administer those interests themselves. The naked republican principle that substitutes the respect and approbation of citizens to their magistrate, in place of the reverence and attachment of subjects to their sovereign, was held by all the cavaliers in utter abhorrence; and a more favourable specimen of the opposite principle which they maintained, and of that mixed system of opinion and sentiment which it tended to produce, will not easily be found than in the administration of Sir William Berkeley. The courageous regard he demonstrated for the people, not only excited their grateful admiration, but recommended to their esteem the generous loyalty to his king with which it was in his language and demeanour inseparably blended; and while he claimed their sympathy with his loyalty to their common sovereign, he naturally asserted his own share in the sentiment as the delegate of the crown. The exalted distinction which he thought due to rank and office, he employed to give efficacy to prudence, moderation, and benevolence; and tempering the dignity of aristocratical elevation with the kindness of a patriarch and the mild courtesy of a gentleman, his administration realized that elegant resemblance which many have preferred to more real and substantial equality; as there are many who confess that they find politeness more gratifying than solid benefaction. He was a wise legislator, as well as a benevolent and upright magistrate; and we are informed by the editor of the Laws of Virginia, that the most judicious and most popular of them were framed by Sir William Berkeley. When his death was made known, and he was no longer an object of flattery or of fear, the assembly recorded the sentiments which the colony entertained of his conduct in the grateful declaration,

"that he had been an excellent and well deserving governor;" and earnestly recommended his widow to the justice and generosity of the king[4]. Happily perhaps for themselves, the bosom of the king was quite a stranger to any such sentiments; and his administration was calculated to dispel, instead of confirming, the impressions of cavalier loyalty, and to teach the Virginian colonists that the object of their late governor's homage was a very worthless idol, and the animating principle of his political creed a mere illusion of his own generous imagination. CHAP. III. 1677.

The most remarkable event that distinguished the government of Colonel Jefferys was the conclusion of the Indian war, which had raged so long, and contributed, with other causes, to the production of the late rebellion, by a treaty which gave universal satisfaction. This too was the only act of his administration that was attended with consequences so agreeable. Jefferys, together with Sir John Berry and Colonel Moryson, had been appointed commissioners to inquire into, and report on, the causes of Bacon's rebellion. They commenced their inquiries with an avowed prepossession in favour of the insurgents, and conducted them with the most indecent partiality. The temptations which their office presented to magnify the importance of their labours, by new and striking discoveries, and to prove, by censure of the late administration, that they had not been appointed its arbiters in vain, co-operated, no doubt, to produce the malignity and injustice which they displayed in a degree that would otherwise seem quite unaccountable. Partiality of the new governor—

[4] Chalmers, p. 336, 7. Preface to Moryson's Edition of the Laws of Virginia. Life of Sir William Berkeley. The very great portion of this eminent person's life which was identified with the history of the colony will seem to excuse, I hope, the length of this allusion to his interesting character. The only reference I have observed in his expressions to the state of religion in the colony, or to his own sentiments thereupon, occurs in his answers to the Lords of the Committee of Colonies, where he says, "Our ministers are well paid, and by my consent should be better if they would pray oftener and preach less." Chalmers, p. 328.

BOOK I.

1677

Instead of indemnifying, or even applauding, they discountenanced the loyalists who had rallied in the time of danger round the person of the governor; and, having invited all the persons who had been engaged in the insurrection to come forward and state their grievances without fear, and unequivocally demonstrated the favourable acceptance which such representations might expect, they revived in the colony all the angry passions that had been so happily composed, and collected a mass of senseless and inconsistent complaints which had never been uttered before, and which they compiled into a body of charges against Sir William Berkeley and his council[5]. While their folly or malignity thus tended to rekindle the dissensions of the colonists, their intemperance involved them in a dispute that united all parties against themselves. Having violently taken the records of the assembly out of the hands of its clerk, the house, incensed at this insult, demanded satisfaction from Jefferys; and when he appealed to the authority of the great seal of England, under which the commissioners acted, they declared to him, in language worthy of the descendants of Englishmen and the parents of Americans, "that such a breach of privilege could not be commanded under the great seal, because they could not find that any King of England had ever done so in former times." The spirit of the assembly will appear the more commendable if we consider that a body of regular troops, the first that had ever been sent to Virginia, were now stationed in the colony under the command of Sir John Berry. Informed of this proceeding, the king, in strains that rival the arrogance of his father and grandfather, commanded

dispute with the assembly—

October.

[5] The memory of Sir William Berkeley was defended against the misrepresentations of the commissioners, by his brother Lord Berkeley (Chalmers, p. 350), and his fame suffered no diminution from their report.

the governor "to signify the royal indignation at this seditious declaration, and to give the leaders marks of the royal displeasure." Berry and Moryson soon after returned to England, leaving the colony in a state of ferment, and all parties disgusted and disappointed[6]. CHAP. III. 1677.

To the other causes of discontent, was added the burden of supporting the soldiery, who, receiving no remittances of pay from England, lived at free quarters upon the inhabitants. Their impatience, however, was mitigated by the friendly and prudent demeanour of an aged officer and venerable man, Sir Henry Chicheley, to whom, as lieutenant-governor, the administration devolved on the death of Jefferys: and as, during his presidency, the large and improvident grants of the crown that had been so much complained of were recalled, and some other grievances corrected, a short gleam of prosperity was shed on the colony, and an interval of comparative repose gave the people time to breathe before the resumption of tyranny with a violence which was to endure till the era of the revolution[7]. renewal of discontents. 1678.

It was not to the intentions of the king that the colonists were indebted for the mild administration of Sir Henry Chicheley. Charles had sometime before conferred the government on Lord Culpepper, who, though very willing to accept the important office, showed so little readiness to perform the duties of it, that it was not till he had been reprimanded by the king for his neglect, that he at length made his voyage to Virginia. His administration was conducted with the same arbitrary spirit that the royal government had now begun to exercise without control in the mother country. Having wrested from the assembly the nomination of its own most confidential officer, the secretary who kept its journals; having abolished Lord Culpepper appointed governor— May, 1680. severity and rapacity of his administration.

[6] Chalmers, 337, 8. [7] Chalmers, 338—340.

BOOK I.

the power it had hitherto exercised of arbitrating appeals from the decisions of the provincial judicatories; and having endeavoured to silence all complaint of his tyranny by establishing a law that prohibited, under the severest penalties, all disrespectful speeches against the governor or his administration, he returned, after a very short stay in Virginia, to enjoy in England the money he had contrived to divert from the revenues of the colonial government. Yet on this ignoble lord did the king confer the commission of governor for life, and a salary twice as large as the emoluments of Sir William Berkeley. The irritation which his proceedings had created, sharpened the sense of the hardships which the colonists were now enduring from the depressed price of tobacco; and at length the public impatience exploded in a tumultuary attempt to destroy all the new tobacco plantations that threatened to increase the depression of price by multiplying still farther the quantities of produce. The insurrection might have proceeded to very serious extremities, if the prudence and vigour of Sir Henry Chicheley had not again been exerted to compose the public discontent, and preserve the peace of the colony. To a mind influenced by liberal justice, or susceptible of humane impressions, this short and feeble insurrection was powerfully recommended to an indulgent consideration. It was but a momentary expression of popular impatience created by undoubted suffering: and the earnest, though ineffectual addresses by which the assembly had recently solicited from the king a prohibition of the increase of tobacco plantations, had both suggested and seemed to sanction the object to which the violence of the rioters was directed. But to the king it appeared in the light of an outrage which his dignity could not suffer to pass without a severe vindictive retribution; and Lord Culpepper,

1680.

August.

May, 1682.

An insurrection.

again obeying the royal mandate to proceed to Virginia, caused a number of the insurgents to be tried for high treason; and by a series of bloody executions diffused that terror which tyrants denominate tranquillity. Having thus enforced a submission, no less unpropitious to the colony than the ferment which had attended his former departure, Lord Culpepper again set sail for England, where he was immediately ordered into confinement for returning without leave; and on a charge of misappropriating the colonial revenues, was shortly after arraigned before a jury, and in consequence of their verdict deprived of his commission [8].

1682. punishment of the insurgents.

In displacing this nobleman, it was the injury done to himself, and not the wrongs of the colony, that Charles intended to redress. The last act of his royal authority, of which Virginia was sensible, was the appointment of a successor to Culpepper, in Lord Effingham, whose character was very little, if at all, superior, and whom, among other instructions, he expressly commanded to suffer no person within the colony to make use of a printing press on any occasion or pretence whatsoever. Along with the new governor was sent a frigate, which was appointed to be stationed on the coast for the purpose of enforcing a stricter execution of the navigation act than that obnoxious measure had yet been able to obtain [9].

Arbitrary measures of the crown.

August, 1683.

On the death of Charles the Second, his successor, James, was proclaimed in Virginia with demonstrations of joy, expressive less of the acquaintance of the colonists with the character of their new sovereign, than of that impatient hope with which men, under the pressure of extreme discontent, are ready to hail any change as desirable. Acclamations much more expressive of hope and joy had attended the commencement of the preceding reign: and if the

Feb. 1685. James the Second.

[8] Beverley, p. 80, 81. Chalmers, 340—345. [9] Chalmers, 345, 6.

BOOK I.

1685.

hopes that were entertained on the present occasion were more moderate, they were not on that account the less fallacious. The colonists soon learned with regret, that in his first parliament James had procured the imposition of a tax on the consumption of tobacco in England; and in imploring the suspension of this tax, which threatened still farther to depreciate their only commodity, they descended to an abjectness of entreaty which produced no other effect than to embitter their disgust with the consciousness of unavailing degradation. Though the assembly was compelled to present an address of felicitation to the king on the defeat of Monmouth's invasion of England, the colonists found an opportunity of indulging very different sentiments on that occasion in the kindness with which they treated those of the insurgents whom James, from a satiety of bloodshed, which he termed the plenitude of royal mercy, appointed to be transported to the plantations; and even the assembly paid no regard to the signification of the royal desire that they should frame a law to prevent these unfortunate persons from redeeming themselves from the servitude to which they had been consigned. This conduct, however, of the colonists and their assembly, in so far as it was not prompted by simple humanity, indicated merely their dissatisfaction with the king's treatment of themselves, and proceeded from no participation of their wishes or opinions in the designs of Monmouth. The general discontent was increased by the personal character of the governor, through whom the rays of royal influence were transmitted. Lord Effingham, like his predecessor, engrafted the vices of a sordid disposition on the arbitrary administration which he was appointed to conduct. He instituted a court of chancery, in which he himself presided as judge; and, besides multiplying and enhancing the fees at-

augments the burdens of the colonists.

Corrupt and oppressive government of Lord Effingham.

tached to his own peculiar functions, he condescended to share with the clerks the meaner perquisites of ministerial offices. For some time he contrived to stifle the remonstrances which his extortions produced, by arbitrary imprisonment and other severities: but, at length, the public displeasure became so general and uncontrollable, that he found it impossible to prevent the complaints of the colony from being carried to England, for which country he in consequence resolved himself to embark, in order to be present at his own arraignment. He was accompanied by Colonel Ludwell, whom the assembly had appointed their agent to advocate the complaints of his conduct and urge his removal[1].

1685—8.

1688.

Revolution in Britain.

But before the governor and his accuser arrived in England, the revolution which the tyranny of James at length provoked in that country, had transferred the allegiance of all parties to new sovereigns. The Virginians, though they readily acquiesced in the change, appear to have surveyed with very little emotion, an event which coincided with none of their anticipations, and to the production of which their concurrence had never been demanded. Whatever might be its remoter consequences, its immediate effect was forcibly to remind them of their own insignificance, as the appendages of a distant empire, whose political changes they were fated to follow, but unable to control. The most deep-seated and lasting grievances under which they laboured, having proceeded from the nation and the parliament, were such as the present event gave no promise of mitigating. Their immediate complaints were to be submitted to sovereigns of whom they knew absolutely nothing; and their late experience had abated their trust in princes, and their hope from changes of royalty. The coolness, then, with which the Vir-

[1] Beverley, 89, 90. Oldmixon, i. 263, 4. Chalmers, 346, 7.

BOOK I.

1688.

ginians are said to have regarded the great event of the English revolution, so far from implying that their minds were not touched with a sense of freedom, may, with much greater probability, be referred to the ardour with which they cherished a regard for liberty, and the deliberate reflection with which they combined it. In some respects, too, the acts of the new government were very little calculated to convey to them more satisfactory impressions of the change that had taken place, or to excite their sympathy with the feelings of that portion of their fellow-subjects by whose exertions it had been effected. Notwithstanding the representations of Colonel Ludwell (who himself was gratified with the appointment of governor of Carolina), King William, unwilling, and perhaps unable, to dispossess such of the officers of the old government as were willing to transfer their personal and official service to the new, continued Lord Effingham in the government of Virginia; but he never returned thither again, and as long as his commission was suffered to endure, the administration was conducted by a deputy governor. He was removed in the year 1692, and replaced by a successor still more obnoxious to the colonists, Sir Edmund Andros, whose tyrannical proceedings under the late reigns, in the government of other American provinces, more justly merited a capital punishment than continuance in office. If such appointments remind us that the English ministry was still composed of many of the persons who had dispensed patronage in the preceding reigns, they may also in part be accounted for by other considerations. Of the officers who were thus undeservedly retained, some pretended to great local experience and official ability. This was particularly the case with Sir Edmund Andros, whose administration proved highly beneficial to Virginia. And they excused the arbitrary proceedings they had conducted

Complaints of the colonies against the former governors discouraged by King William.

1692.

in the former reigns, by pleading the authority of the sovereign whose commands they had obeyed—a plea which always finds favour with a king, when not opposed to wrongs which he deems personal to himself. Besides, the complaints of the colonists were not always accurate: for anger is a more copious than discriminating accuser. Justice suffered, as usual, from the passion and partiality with which it was contended for; and the guilty artfully availed themselves of the undiscerning rage they had provoked in their accusers, to defeat or enfeeble the charges they preferred. The insolence and severity, for example, that had pervaded the whole of Lord Effingham's government, had produced many representations of grievances in which the accusers had either neglected or been unable to discriminate between the legality of official acts, and the tyrannical demeanour or malignant motives of the party by whom they had been performed. Accordingly, while some of the remonstrances which the Virginians transmitted to England by Colonel Ludwell were complied with, there were others that produced only explanations, by which the Assembly was given to understand that it had mistaken certain points of English constitutional law[2]. In the infancy of a free state, collisions and disputes not unfrequently arise from the discordant claims of the different branches of its constitution, before time has given consistence to the whole, and those limits which reason finds it difficult to assign to the respective parts, have been determined by the convenience of practice and the authority of precedent.

1692.

Effect of the English revolution on the American colonies.

The revolution of the British government, both in its immediate and its remote operation, was attended

[2] Beverley, p. 90, 91. 94. 96. Chalmers, 347, 8. 359. One of the grievances complained of by the assembly of Virginia was, that Lord Effingham having, by a proclamation, declared the royal dissent to an act of assembly which repealed a former law, gave notice that the abrogated law was now in force. This was erroneously deemed by the assembly an act of legislation.

BOOK I.

with consequences highly beneficial to Virginia, in common with all the existing states of America.

1692. Under the patronage, and by the pecuniary aid, of William and Mary, the college which had been projected in the reign of James the First was established[3]. The political institutions under which the manly character of Englishmen is formed, had already been planted in the soil to which so large a portion of their race had migrated: the literary and religious institutions, by which that character is refined and improved, were now, in like manner, transported to Virginia; and a fountain opened within her own territory which promised to dispense to her children the streams of science and the water of life.

But the most certain and decisive influence which the British revolution exercised on the condition of the colonies, consisted in the abridgment and almost total overthrow of their dependence on the personal character of the sovereign. A conservative principle was infused by this great event into the British constitution at home, and into all the shoots from the parent stem that had been planted in the settlements abroad. The permanence and the supremacy which the parliament acquired in Britain, extended the constitutional superintendence of this body to every subordinate organ of popular privileges; and if in the oppression of their trade, the provinces of America still continued to feel the harsh dominion, in the security of their legislative constitutions they now began to experience the powerful protection of the strong. The king still continued to appoint the governors of Virginia and of some of the other settlements; and men of sordid dispositions and of weak or profligate character were frequently the objects of this branch of the royal patronage. But the powers of these officers were

[3] Beverley, p. 92.

abridged and defined; and the influence of the colonial assemblies was able to restrain, and even overawe, the most vigorous administration of the executive functionaries. Whatever evil influence a wicked or artful governor might exert on the harmony of the people among themselves, or their good will towards the authority which he represented, he could commit no serious inroad on the constitution of the province over which he presided. From this period an equal and impartial policy distinguished the British dominion over the American provinces: the diminution of the personal influence of the sovereign put an end to the inequalities of treament that were produced by the different degrees of favour with which he regarded the religious or political sentiments of the people of the respective states, and consequently extinguished, or at least greatly abated, the jealousies they had hitherto entertained of each other. A farther abatement of the mutual jealousies of the states was produced by the religious toleration which the provincial governments were henceforward compelled to observe. Even when intolerant statutes were permitted to subsist, their enforcement was disallowed; and the principles cherished in one state could no longer be persecuted in another. 1692.

We have now to transfer our inquiries to the rise of the other colonies in North America which were founded antecedently to the British Revolution, and to trace their separate progress till that era. But before withdrawing our undivided attention from this, the earliest of the settlements, I shall subjoin a few particulars of its civil and domestic condition at the period at which we have now arrived.

State of Virginia at this period—population—laws—manners.

Notwithstanding the unfavourable circumstances to which the colony had been exposed in a greater or less degree ever since the Restoration, the number of its inhabitants had continued to increase. The

BOOK II

deputies that were sent to Charles the Second in 1675, represented the population to amount, at that time, to 50,000 persons[4]. If their statement were not exaggerated (as I think it probably was) we must suppose that Bacon's rebellion, and the subsequent tyranny, gave a very severe check to this rapid increase; for I think there is no reason to suppose that the colony contained a much greater number than 50,000 at the Revolution of 1688[5]. From a table appended to the first edition of Beverley's History, it appears, that, in 1703, the population of Virginia (exclusive of 800 French refugees sent over by King William) amounted to 60,606 souls. Of this number, 20,023 were *titheables* (a denomination embracing all white men above the age of sixteen, and all negro slaves, male and female, above that age), and 35,583 children of both races, and white women[6]. Many circumstances contributed to give free scope to the increase of the colonial population, and to counterbalance the influence of commercial restraint and despotic administration. The healthfulness of the settlement had greatly increased; and the diminution of disease not only shut up the drain that had been originally created by a frequent mortality, but rendered the general strength more available to the general support. The use of tobacco now prevailed extensively in Europe; and the diminution of its price was in

4 Chalmers, p. 330.

5 Dr. Robertson, indeed, states the population of Virginia at the Revolution to have exceeded 60,000 persons, and professes to derive his statement from Chalmers. But the reference is erroneous; and that the statement itself is no less so, seems to follow, by very strong inference, from Beverley's table, mentioned in the text. There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of that table; and consistently with it, we cannot admit the accuracy of Robertson's estimate, without believing that the colony had added 20,000 to its numbers in the course of seventeen years, notwithstanding the ravages of civil war and the distress occasioned by tyrannical government, and only about 600 to its numbers during fifteen subsequent years of increased freedom and prosperity.

The Abbé Raynal has so carelessly considered Beverley's table, as to have added 6000 to its returns, and to have supposed this the amount of the white population alone. This error has led him to waste his ingenuity in conjecturing the causes why the population of Virginia never afterwards increased so rapidly.

6 Beverley, B. iv. p. 45, and table, *ad finem*.

some degree compensated by the increased demand for it. In 1671 it was computed, that, on an average, 80 vessels came annually from England and Ireland to Virginia for tobacco. In 1675 there were exported from Virginia above 23,000 hogsheads of tobacco, and in the following year upwards of 2000 more. In this latter year the customs on tobacco from Virginia and Maryland, collected in England, amounted to 135,000*l.*[7] Sir William Berkeley rates the number of the militia, in the year 1671, at nearly 8000, and adds, that the people were too poor to afford an equipment of cavalry. In the year 1680 the militia amounted to 8568, of whom 1300 served as cavalry[8]. Our estimate, however, of the increased wealth which the cavalry establishment seems to indicate, must be abated by the consideration of the increased exertions which the Indian war and Bacon's rebellion had rendered necessary. In the year 1703, we learn from Beverley, that the militia amounted to 9522, of whom 2363 were light horse, and the remainder foot and dragoons; and that, as few of the planters were then destitute of horses, it was considered that the greater part of them might, if necessary, be converted into dragoons[9]. In 1722 he calculates the numbers of the militia at 18,000 men[1]. Every freeman (a denomination embracing all the inhabitants except the slaves and the indented servants) from sixteen to sixty years of age, was enrolled in the militia; and as the people were accustomed all their lives to shoot in the woods, they were universally expert in the use of fire-arms[2]. The militia was commanded by the governor, whose salary was 1000*l.* a

[7] Chalmers, p. 326. 353, 4. In the year 1604 the whole customs of England amounted only to 127,000*l.*, of which 110,000*l.* was collected in the port of London. Hume's England, vol. vi. p. 23.

[8] Chalmers, p. 326. 357.

[9] Beverley, B. iv. p. 34.

[1] Beverley, B. iv. p. 234, (edit. 1722.

[2] Ibid, B. iv. p. 34.

BOOK II. year, till the appointment of Lord Culpepper, who, on the plea of peerage, procured it to be doubled[3].

The twelve councillors, as well as the governor, were appointed by the king; and a salary of 350*l.* was assigned to the whole body, which they divided in proportion to the public services which each performed. In all matters of importance the concurrence of the council with the governor was indispensably requisite. The Colonial Assembly was composed of the councillors, who termed themselves the Upper House, and exercised the privilege of the English House of Lords, and the burgesses, who were elected by the freemen of the respective counties, and performed the functions of the House of Commons, receiving wages proportioned to their services, and derived, like all the other colonial salaries, from the colonial taxes. Until the year 1680, the several branches of the assembly had formed one deliberative body; but in that year the councillors separated themselves from the burgesses, and formed a distinct house. In conjunction with the governor, the councillors formed the supreme tribunal of the province; from whose judgments, however, in all cases involving more than 300*l.*, an appeal lay to the king and privy council of England. In 1681 the province contained twenty counties; in 1703 it contained twenty-five. A quit rent of two shillings for every hundred acres of land was paid by the planters to the crown[4].

In the year 1688, the province contained forty-eight parishes, embracing upwards of 200,000 acres of appropriated land. A church was built in every parish, and a house and glebe assigned to the clergyman, along with a stipend, which was fixed by law at 16,000 pounds of tobacco. This mode of remuneration obviously tends to give a secular cast to the life

[3] Beverley, B. iv. p. 4. [4] Ibid. B. iv. p. 5, 6. Chalmers, p. 355.

and character of the ministers, and to entangle them with concerns remote from their spiritual warfare. The equalization which it proposes to effect is quite fallacious; the different degrees of fertility of different parishes rendering the burden unequal to the people, and the very different quality of the tobacco produced in different soils, making the remuneration unequal to the clergy. The presentation to the livings, prior to the English Revolution, belonged to the governor, but was generally usurped or controlled by the parishioners. After the Revolution it devolved into the hands of parochial vestries, which, though originally elected by the people, came, in process of time, to exercise the power of supplying vacancies in their numbers by their own appointment. The bishop of London was accounted the diocesan of the province; and a resident commissary (generally a member of the council) appointed by that prelate, presided over the clergy, with the power of convoking, censuring, and even suspending them in cases of neglect or immorality. The doctrines and rites of the church of England were established by law; attendance of divine worship at the parochial churches, and the observance of the sacraments of the church, enjoined under heavy penalties; the preaching of dissenters, and the participation in the ordinances of dissenting congregations, were prohibited, and subjected to various degrees of punishment. There was one bloody law, which subjected quakers returning from banishment to the punishment of death; but no execution ever took place in consequence of this enactment, and it was repealed soon after the Revolution of 1688. The other laws were not then repealed, but they were no longer enforced; and though the statute-book continued to prohibit the preaching and practices of dissenters, the prohibition was utterly disregarded, and liberty

CHAP. III.

BOOK I.

of conscience practically realized. In 1688, almost the whole body of the people belonged to the established church. Other opinions and practices, however, began to arise, and were aided probably by the influence of the free schools, of which a considerable number were founded and endowed soon after that period; and the government being restrained from enforcing the intolerant laws, endeavoured to cherish its own church establishment by heaping temporal advantages upon its ministers. This policy produced its usual fruits, and introduced so much indolence and worthlessness into the order of the state clergy, that at the era of the American revolution two-thirds of the inhabitants of Virginia had become dissenters, and were subject, on that account, to the ban of their own municipal law [5].

Of every just and humane system of laws, one main object should be to protect the weak against the strong, and to correct instead of confirming and perpetuating the inequalities of condition that from time to time arise from inequalities of strength, skill, success, or virtue. This wise and benevolent principle must be sacrificed, to a considerable extent, in the code of every country where slavery is admitted. By the laws of Virginia, all persons brought into the colony by sea or land, not having been christians in their native country, were subjected to slavery, even though they might be converted to christianity after their arrival. A slave committing a capital crime was appointed to be tried by commissioners named by the governor, without the intervention of a jury; and if the punishment of death were inflicted, indemnification to the extent of the value of the slave was awarded from the public revenue to the master.

[5] Abridgment of the Laws of Virginia, p. 7. 52. Beverley, B. iv. p. 26—29. 40. Burnaby's Travels through the Middle Settlements of America, p. 25. Chalmers, p. 328. 356. Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, p. 167.

In the year 1669, it was enacted that the death of a slave occasioned by the correction of a master, should not be accounted felony; "since it cannot be presumed," says the act, "that prepensed malice, which alone makes murder felony, should induce any man to destroy his own estate." But experience has amply refuted this pernicious sophistry, which ascribes to absolute power a tendency to repress human irascibility, and accounts avarice and selfishness sufficient motives and sureties of justice, humanity, and liberality. Neither infidels nor negroes, mulattoes nor Indians, were allowed to purchase christian white servants; and if any person having christian white servants should marry an infidel, or a negro, mulatto, or Indian[6], all such servants were made free. Any free white person intermarrying with a negro or mulatto, and any minister celebrating such marriage, was punished with fine and imprisonment. It will excite the merriment of a satirist, the surprise of a philosopher, and the indignant concern of a christian, to find, combined with such inhuman and insolent laws, the strictest injunctions of the worship of that great pattern of love and humility who commanded his worshippers to do good to and honour all men; together with many solemn denunciations and penal enactments against *travelling on Sunday*, *profane cursing* or *profanely getting drunk*. But thus mankind attempt to unite what religion has sundered, the service of God and the service of mammon; and to sunder what religion has united, the rendering of glory to God and the demonstration of good-will to

CHAP. III.

[6] It would not have been easy to induce the framers of this law to believe that a time might come when the legislature of Virginia would seriously entertain a proposal of promoting, by a bounty, the marriages of the white inhabitants and the Indians. Yet a bill for this purpose was actually introduced into the assembly during the revolutionary war; and after having been twice read, was lost at the third reading in consequence of the absence of the member who had introduced it. Wirt's Life of Governor Henry, p. 241.

BOOK men, Justices of the peace were commanded to hear
II and determine the complaints of all sorts of servants *except slaves*, against their masters; various regulations were made for securing mild and equitable treatment to indented servants; at the close of their period of service they received from their masters each a musket, a small sum of money, and a quantity of corn; but if during the currency of their term of service they should presume to marry without consent of their master or mistress, they were punished with an additional year of servitude. All persons riotously assembling to the number of eight or more, for the purpose of destroying tobacco, were subjected to the pains of treason. Every person, not being a servant or slave, committing adultery or fornication, was, for the greater offence, fined 1000, for the lesser 500 pounds of tobacco. Women convicted of slander were ordered to be ducked, in default of their husbands' consenting to redeem them from immersion by payment of a fine. There being no inns in the country, strangers were entertained at the houses of the inhabitants, and were frequently involved in lawsuits by the exorbitant claims of their hosts for indemnification of the expenses of their entertainment; for remedy whereof it was enacted, that an inhabitant neglecting in such circumstances to forewarn his guest, and to make an express paction with him, should be reputed to have entertained him from mere courtesy[7]. All these laws continued in force long after the British Revolution.

It would appear, from the first of these statutes, that even their Indian neighbours coming into the territories of the state were liable to be made slaves by the colonists: and we are informed by Mr. Jefferson, that the practice of enslaving these people did

7 Abridgment of the Laws of Virginia, p. 81. 29. 82, 83, 84. 52. 53. 80. 14. 8.

at one time actually prevail[8]. But with the Indian tribes situated in their immediate vicinity, and comprehended in the pacification effected by Colonel Jefferys, the colonists maintained relations more approaching to friendship and equality. The Indians paid, indeed, in conformity with the treaty of peace, an annual tribute of beaver skins to the colonial government[9]. But their territorities were ascertained by the treaty, and guaranteed to them so securely by law, that all bargains and sales by which the colonists might acquire or pretend right to any portion of them, were disallowed and declared null and void: and every wrong they might sustain at the hands of any of the colonists was punished in the same manner as if it had been done to an Englishman[1]. By the aid of a donation from that illustrious philosopher and christian philanthropist, the Honourable Robert Boyle, an attempt was made to render the institution, which, from its founders, has been called William and Mary College, subservient to the instruction of the Indians. Some young persons belonging to the friendly tribes received in this manner the elements of civil and religious education; and the colonists, sensible of the advantages they derived from the possession of those who might be considered hostages for the pacific demeanour of their parents, prevailed with some of the more remote nations of the Indians to send a few of their children to drink of the same fountain of knowledge. But as the pupils were restored to their respective tribes when they attained the age that fitted them for hunting and other warlike exercises, it is not likely that this institution produced any general or permanent impression on the character of the Indians, or made any adequate compensation for the destructive vices and diseases which the Europeans

CHAP. III.

[8] Notes on Virginia, p. 65.
[9] Beverley, B. iii. p. 62.
[1] Abridg. Laws of Virg. p. 90.

BOOK I.

were unhappily much more successful in imparting[2]. Attempts to convert barbarians very frequently disappoint their promoters; and not those only who have assisted the undertaking from secular ends, but those also who truly regarding the Divine glory in the end, disregard, at least in some measure, the Divine agency in the means. As an instrument of civilization, the preaching of the gospel will ever be found to disappoint all those who have no higher or ulterior views. In a civilized and christian land, the great bulk of the people are christians merely in name; reputation, convenience, and habit, are the sources of their profession; vices are so disguised, that the testimonies of christian preachers against them often miss their aim; and a seeming service of God is easily reconciled with, and esteemed a decent livery of, the real service of mammon. But among heathens and savages, a convert must change his way of life, overcome his habits, and forfeit his reputation; and none, or at least very few, become professors unless from the influence of real conviction, more or less lasting and profound. Those who remain unconverted, if they be honestly addressed by their missionaries, are incensed at the testimony against their evil deeds and evil nature; and the conduct of many professing christians among their civilized neighbours too often concurs to mislead and confirm them in error. But this topic will derive an ampler illustration from occurrences that relate to others of the North American States, than the early history of Virginia is fitted to supply.

Literature was not much cultivated in Virginia. There was not at this period, nor for many years after, a single bookseller's shop in the colony[3]. Yet

[2] Beverley, B. iii. p. 200; B. iv. p. 232, (edit. 1722). In citing this author, it is the edition of 1705 that I refer to, when the other is not expressly named.

[3] The literature of North America was at this time monopolised almost entirely by New England. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, when Boston

a history of Virginia was written some years after by Beverley, a native of the province, who had taken an active part in public affairs prior to the Revolution of 1688. The first edition of this work in 1705, and a later edition in 1722, were published in England. Beverley is a brief and rather agreeable annalist, and has appended to his narrative of events an ample account of the institutions of the province, and of the manners of the colonial and aboriginal inhabitants. He is chargeable with great ignorance and incorrectness in those parts of his narrative that embrace events occurring in England or elsewhere beyond the immediate precincts of Virginia. Only the initial letters of his name appear on the title-page of his book, whence Oldmixon was led into the mistake of supposing his name to have been *Bullock*; and in some of the critical catalogues of Germany he has received the erroneous appellation of *Bird*[4]. A much more enlarged and elaborate history of Virginia (but unfortunately carried no further down than the year 1624) was written at a later period by Stith, also a native of the province, and one of the governors of William and Mary College. Stith is a candid, accurate, and accomplished writer; tediously minute in relating the debates in the Court of Proprietors of the Virginia Company, and their disputes with the king, but generally impressive and interesting. A manly and generous spirit pervades every page of his work, which was first published at Williamsburgh in 1747.

CHAP. III.

Beverley warmly extols the hospitality of his countrymen; a commendation which the peculiar cir-

contained five printing offices and many booksellers' shops, there was but one bookseller's shop in New York, and not one in Virginia, Maryland, or Carolina. Neal's History of New England, ii. 587. From the Memoirs of Dr. Franklin it appears that even at so late a period as the year 1730, there was not one good bookseller's shop in Pennsylvania.

[4] Warden, a late American writer, has repeated this error, and described as the production of Bird, what in reality was the first edition of Beverley's work.

BOOK I.

cumstances of their condition renders very generally credible, though the preamble of one of their laws, which we have already noticed, demonstrates that its application was by no means universal. He reproaches them with indolence, which he ascribes to their residence in scattered dwellings, and their destitution of that collected life which invigorates industry, excites active thought, and generates adventurous speculation. It may be ascribed also to the influence of slavery in augmenting pride and degrading labour. A life like that of the first Virginian colonists, remote from public haunt, unoccupied by a crowd of busy purposes, and sequestered from the intelligence of passing events, is the life of those to whom the company of strangers is peculiarly acceptable. All the other circumstances of such a lot contribute to the promotion of hospitable habits. As for many of their hours they can find no such interesting occupation, so of much of their superfluous produce they can find no more profitable use than the entertainment of visitors[5]. The interest which all men feel in the concerns of their fellows, is refined and extended by crowded and polished society; in remote districts, especially if they be inhabited by men whose origin or recollections connect them with a distant country, it assumes the shape of an intense and somewhat indiscriminate curiosity—a quality for which the Americans have been always distinguished.

It was the remarkable and advantageous peculiarity of their local situation, that prevented a people so early devoted to commerce as the Virginians have been, from congregating in large towns, and forming crowded marts of trade. The same peculiarity belongs to that portion of their original territory that now

[5] "Mr. Jefferson told me, that in his father's time it was no uncommon thing for gentlemen to post their servants on the main road for the purpose of amicably waylaying and bringing to their houses any travellers who might chance to pass." Hall's Travels in Canada and the United States, 412.

forms the province of Maryland, and has there been attended with the same effect. The whole of that vast country is pervaded by numerous streams, that impart fertility to the land, and carry the produce they have nourished to the great highway of nations. From the bay of Chesapeak, where all these streams unite, the greater number of them afford an extensive navigation into the interior of the country: and the colonists, perceiving that in order to embark their produce they needed not to quit their plantations, but might load the merchant ships at the doors of their country warehouses, dispersed themselves along the banks of the rivers, and united the sweets of rural life with the advantages of commerce. Except the small towns of Williamsburgh, which succeeded James-Town as the capital of Virginia, and Annapolis, the capital of Maryland, no cities grew up for a very long period in either of these settlements. This state of life has proved highly favourable to those two great sources of national happiness, good morals, and the facility of gaining by industry a moderate competence and a respectable stake in society. The convicts who were transported to the colony, finding none of the opportunities of confederacy, vice, and shelter, that large towns afford, either quitted the settlement at the expiration of their periods of service; or, impressed with the advantages which the country so liberally held forth to industry and morality, they melted into the mass of humble and respectable free labourers. To this important class of society the virtues of industry and economy were recommended by prizes both greater and nearer than any other country has ever presented. Labour was so valuable, and land so cheap, that a very few years of industry could promote the labourer to the rank of a proprietor[6]; none needed

[6] "I remember the time when five pound was left by a charitable testator to the poor of the parish he lived in; and it lay nine years before the executors could

BOOK I.

to despair of a competence; and none found it practicable to amass enormous wealth. Toil, no longer the badge of hopeless poverty, was respected as the certain passport to independence; nor was there among the free population any distinction of rank which industry and virtue were unable to surmount. A constant and general progression, effected without scramble or peril, gave a quiet alacrity to life; and fellow-feeling was not obstructed, nor insolence and servility engendered, by numerous instances of a wide inequality of condition; they were and are undoubtedly a happy people. But how happy had they been, had they rightly known their happiness; had they imbibed with the sweetness of their lot, the spirit of its author, and in the abundance of his goodness recognised the extent of his claims!

Two causes have contributed in this and others of the American provinces, to impede the operation and abridge the influence of circumstances so favourable to happiness and virtue. Of these, by far the most important is the institution of domestic slavery; an institution fraught with incalculable evil to the morals, manners, and felicity of every country into which it has gained admission. The slaves are reduced to a state of misery and degradation; to a state which has always been found so destructive to virtue, that in many languages a slave and a thief are expressed by the same word. The masters are justly loaded with the guilt of all the wretchedness and worthlessness which that state inevitably infers: every mind is tainted with the evil which it engenders and displays, and sustains an abatement either of happiness or virtue. Every master of a slave, whether he term himself citizen or subject, is a monarch endowed with more uncontrolled authority than any sovereign in

find one poor enough to be entitled to any part of this legacy; and at last it was all given to one old woman. So that this may in truth be termed the best poor man's country in the world." Beverley, B. iv. p. 39.

Europe enjoys; and every country where slavery is admitted, whether it call itself kingdom or republic, is a country subject to the dominion of tyrants. Nay, the more liberal its political constitution, the more severe in general is its system of domestic tyranny; for from the days of Sparta it has ever held true, that none are so completely enslaved as the slaves of the free. Human character is as much corrupted and depraved by the spirit of dominion as by the yoke of servitude; and slavery is a state wherein *one man ruleth over another to his own hurt.* The same wisdom which assigned to man his duties, adapted them to the developement of his understanding and the refinement of his sensibility. This adaptation is particularly visible in the duties that regulate the mutual intercourse of men. To violate therein the law of kindness and the principles of equity, is to warp the understanding [7] as well as to corrupt the heart; to lower the dignity of rational, and the happiness of sensible being. There is a continual reciprocation of evil between a master and his slaves. His injustice consigns them to their present state; and the evil qualities that this state engenders tend continually to provoke his irascibility. His power effects their degradation; and their degradation at once tempts and facilitates the excesses of his power. Hence the commerce between master and slave exercises and exhibits all that is hateful in human passion and contemptible in human conduct. The delicate susceptibility of women is exposed to

[7] An illustration of this remark may, perhaps, be derived from the apologetic theory which philosophical slave owners have introduced into the world, that the negroes are a separate and inferior race of men—a notion by which the degradation that men inflict on their fellows by reducing them to the level of the brute creation, is charged on Him who made man in the image of the Godhead, and whose word assures us that he fashioned all souls alike. Interest and pride harden the heart; the deceitfulness of the heart perverts the understanding; and men find it agreeable to consider those as brutes whom they think it convenient to treat as such. The best refutation of this theory that I have ever seen is the production of an American writer. It occurs in Dr. S. Smith's interesting "Essay on the causes of the variety of figure and complexion in the human species."

BOOK I.

the impression of this spectacle, and the imitative character of children formed amidst its continual display. The female slaves lose alike the virtues and the rights of women, and introduce into rural life the worst vices and most dangerous temptations of profligate cities. Every description of work that is committed to the slaves is performed with as much neglect and indolence as they dare to indulge, and is so degraded in common estimation, that the poorest freeman disdains to perform it except when he is working for himself. As the numbers of the slaves are multiplied, the industry of the free is thus depressed by the extension of slave labour, and the safety of the state is endangered by the strength of a body of internal enemies ready to conspire against its tranquillity or to join its first invader [8]. The number of the slaves and gladiators contributed to the downfall of Rome: and indeed every body politic, compounded of parts so heterogeneous as freemen and slaves, plainly contains within itself a principle of destruction. Such a mixture tends also to pervert and confound the moral sentiments of all mankind, and to degrade the value of those free institutions which are seen to form a canopy for the shelter of domestic tyranny, to mock one portion of the people with such liberty and dignity as jailors enjoy, and to load all the rest with such fetters as only felons should wear.

[8] "I tremble for my country," says Mr. Jefferson, in his observations on the slave population of this province, "when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep for ever; that considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation is among possible events; that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest." Notes on Virginia, p. 173. Seneca relates that it was once proposed at Rome to discriminate the slaves by a peculiar habit; but it was justly apprehended that there might be some danger in acquainting them with their own numbers. This information is conveyed to the negroes by their colour; and this colour being always a mark of contempt, even those negroes who become free in countries where their race is generally enslaved, continue allied both by the most irritating feelings and by the sympathy they must entertain for men of the same complexion, with all those who remain in a state of bondage.

Such long consequences have guilt and injustice! The first introduction of slavery into a country plants an evil of which the full mischief is not felt till in an after age, when it has attained such an extent that its extirpation becomes almost impossible. This consideration, while it increases our abhorrence of a system so fraught with evil and danger, abates the severity of our censure on those to whom the system already matured by long endurance has unfortunately descended. And even with regard to the race who first introduced it, we shall not fulfil the duty of fellow-men, if we omit to consider the apologies which probably misled their understandings, and veiled from their view the wickedness they committed and the misery they introduced. The negroes that were first brought to Virginia were enslaved before they came there, and by the purchase of the colonists were delivered from the hold of a slave ship and the cruelty of the Dutch. When slaves were neither numerous nor formidable, they appear to have been kindly treated[9]; and their masters perhaps intended to emancipate them at that convenient season for adjusting the accounts of interest and conscience, which every added year and every addition to their numbers tended still farther to postpone. So great is the deceivableness of unrighteousness.

Negro slavery lingered long in the settlements of the puritans in New England, and of the quakers in Pennsylvania: Las Cases, so distinguished by his compassion for the unfortunate, first suggested its introduction into Mexico and Peru; George Fox, the most intrepid and enthusiastic of reformers, demanded no more of his followers than a mitigation of its severity in Barbadoes; and John Locke, the glory of modern philosophy, and the champion of

[9] The treatment of slaves at Rome, latterly distinguished by the most enormous cruelty, was originally kind and humane. Plutarch. Life of Coriolanus.

BOOK I.

religious and political freedom, introduced it into the fundamental constitutions of Carolina. Considerations such as these are calculated to increase at once our charity for mankind, and our abhorrence of that insidious and formidable evil which has so signally baffled the penetration of the wise, and triumphed over the beneficence of the humane.

It is in those colonial plantations where the residence of the free inhabitants is merely temporary, that slavery exhibits its worst features, and produces its most debasing effects. Wherever a respectable stationary population of freemen exists, a restraining principle arises to control and qualify those evil consequences. The harsher slave laws have been long since repealed in Virginia, and the treatment of the slaves in this province has long been noted for comparative mildness[1]. An Englishman who should suppose that humanity and delicacy could not exist in a province where slavery prevailed, would commit as great a practical error as an American who should maintain the incompatibility of the same qualities with those spectacles of vice and misery exhibited in the great towns and public places of England. In both countries, doubtless, human character is evil affected by the contemplation of evil: but in both, the taint is obstructed by delusions that disguise, by humanity that deplores, or by virtue that labours to mitigate and finally efface the evil.

The other cause to which I have alluded, as having exercised an unfavourable influence on the prosperity of Virginia, is the inordinate cultivation of tobacco. As long as Virginia and Maryland were the only provinces of North America where this commodity was produced, their inhabitants devoted themselves almost exclusively to a culture which is attended with much inconvenience to those engaged in it, and no

[1] Warden's United States, vol. ii. p. 186, 7. 202.

small disadvantage to their country even when moderately pursued. It requires unusually fatiguing labour from the cultivators, and exhausts the fertility of the soil; and as little food of any kind is raised on the tobacco plantations, the men and cattle employed on them are badly fed, and the soil gradually impoverished[2]. This evil continued long to be felt in Virginia; but has been diminished by the introduction into the markets of Europe of the tobacco produce of territories more recently cultivated[3].

[2] Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, p. 178.
[3] Priest's Travels in America, 17, 18. Warden, ii. 211.

BOOK II

THE NEW ENGLAND STATES.

BOOK II.

THE NEW ENGLAND STATES.

CHAPTER I.

Attempts of the Plymouth Company to colonize the Northern Coasts of America.—Popham establishes a Colony at Fort Saint George.—Sufferings and Return of the Colonists.—Captain Smith's Voyage and Survey of the Country—which is named New England.—His ineffectual Attempt to conduct a Colony thither.—The Company relinquish the Design of colonizing New England.—History and Character of the Puritans.—Rise of the Brownists or Independents.—A Congregation of Independents retire to Holland—they resolve to settle in America—their Negotiation with King James—they arrive in Massachusetts—and found New Plymouth.—Hardships—and Virtue of the Colonists.—Their civil Institutions.—Community of Property.—Increase of civil and ecclesiastical Tyranny in England.—Project of a new Colony in Massachusetts.—Salem built.—Charter of Massachusetts Bay obtained from Charles the First by an Association of Puritans.—Embarkation of the Emigrants —Arrival at Salem.—Their Constitution in Church and State.—Two Persons banished from the Colony for Schism.—Intolerance of some of the Puritans.

CHAP. I.

1606.

WHEN James the First gave his sanction to the project of colonizing the vast district of North America which was comprehended at that time under the name of Virginia, he made a partition of the territory between two trading companies, and established the residence of the one at London, and of the other at Plymouth. If the object of this partition was to diminish the inconvenience of monopoly, and diffuse the benefit of colonial relations more extensively in England, the means were very ill adapted to the end; and, consequently, the effect was far from corresponding with the design. The resources of the

BOOK II.

1606.

adventurers who had already prepared to undertake colonial projects were divided so unequally, and yet so much to the disadvantage of all parties, that the more powerful company found its vigour and success considerably abridged, while the weaker, without ability to effect the purpose of its association, retained only the privilege of debarring others from attempting it. We have seen that the southern colony, though promoted by a company which reckoned among its members some of the richest and most powerful men in the state, and enjoyed the advantage of being situated in the place which then absorbed almost all the commercial wealth and activity of England, was yet enabled, with all these advantages, to make but slow and laborious advances to a secure establishment. The Plymouth company possessing much narrower resources, and a very inferior situation, its efforts were proportionally feeble and unavailing.

Attempts of the Plymouth company to colonize the northern coasts of America.

The most eminent members of the Plymouth company were Sir John Popham, Chief Justice of England, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the Governor of Plymouth fort, and Sir John Gilbert, the nephew of the first patentee and leader of emigrants to America. Animated by the zeal of these men, and especially of Popham, who assumed the principal direction of their proceedings, the Plymouth company very early despatched a small vessel to inspect their territories; but had soon the mortification of learning that it had been attacked and captured by the Spaniards, who still pretended a right to exclude every other people from the navigation of the American seas. The chief justice and his friends, however, were too much bent on the prosecution of their purpose to be discouraged by this disaster. At his own expense, Popham quickly despatched another vessel to resume the survey; and having received a

favourable report of the appearance of the country, he availed himself of the intelligence to raise a sufficient supply of men and money for the formation of a colony. Under the command of his brother, Henry Popham, and of Raleigh Gilbert, brother of Sir John, two vessels freighted with a hundred emigrants proceeded to the territory of what was still called Northern Virginia, and landing in autumn, they took possession of a piece of ground near the river Sagahadoc, where they built Fort Saint George. The district where they established themselves was rocky and barren, and their provisions so scanty, that they were obliged, soon after their arrival, to send back all but forty-five of their own number. The winter proved extremely severe, and confined this small remnant to their miserable dwelling, and a helpless contemplation of the dreary waste that surrounded them. Disease, the offspring of famine and hardship, augmented the general gloom; and, before the return of spring, several of their number, and among others their president, Henry Popham, had sunk into the grave. With the spring arrived a vessel with supplies from England, but the intelligence that accompanied these supplies more than counterbalanced the satisfaction they afforded; for the colonists were now informed of the deaths of Chief Justice Popham and Sir John Gilbert, the most powerful of their patrons, and most active of their benefactors. Their resolution was completely vanquished by so many misfortunes; and all exclaiming against longer continuance in scenes so dismal, they forsook the settlement and returned to England, which they filled with the most disheartening accounts of the soil and climate of Northern Virginia[1]. The American hi-

CHAP. I.

May, 1607.

Popham establishes a colony at Fort St. George—

sufferings and return of the colonists.

1608.

[1] Smith's History of Virginia, New England, &c. B. vi. p. 203. Stith's Hist. of Virginia, p. 75. Neal's Hist. of New England, vol. i. p. 18. Hutchinson's Hist. of Massachusetts, I. p. 2.

BOOK II.

storians are careful to note that this disastrous expedition originated with the judge who three years before had presided, with the most scandalous injustice, at the trial of Raleigh, and condemned to an infamous death the man to whom England and America had been so highly indebted[2].

1608.

The frustration of this enterprise, and the evil report that was raised against the land, deterred the company for some time from any further attempt to effect a settlement in Northern Virginia, and produced an impression on the minds of the people very unfavourable to emigration to that territory. For several years, the adventures of the company were confined to a few fishing voyages to Cape Cod, and a traffic in peltry and oil with the natives. At length their prospects were cheered by a gleam of better fortune; and the introduction of Captain Smith into their service seemed to betoken more vigorous and successful enterprise. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and some other leading members of the Plymouth Company, justly appreciating the merit of this extraordinary man, made haste to appropriate his valuable services, which the Virginia Company had so unworthily neglected. Six years after the return of the settlers at Sagahadoc, two vessels were despatched, under the command of Captain Smith and Captain Hunt, on a voyage of trade and discovery to the company's territories. Smith, having concluded his traffic with the natives, left his crew engaged in fishing on the coast, and, accompanied by only eight men, travelled into the interior of

1614.

Captain Smith's voyage, and survey of the country—

[2] One American writer, however, has been betrayed by carelessness into an observation so very different, that he represents Raleigh as one of the commanders of this unsuccessful expedition. Marshall's Life of Washington, vol. i. p. 73. This writer has mistaken Raleigh Gilbert for two persons. Sir Walter was at this time a prisoner in the Tower, under sentence of death. I have more than once had occasion to notice inaccuracies occurring in *the first volume* of Marshall's *Life of Washington*; a volume which all who have read the others must regret that he ever published. It has greatly obstructed the popularity of a most excellent and interesting work.

the country, surveyed its condition, explored with great care and diligence the whole coast, from Cape Cod to Penobscot, and composed a map, in which its appearance was accurately delineated. On his return to England, he presented his map, with an account of his travels and observations, to Prince Charles, who was so much pleased with the country, that he bestowed on it the name of New England, which it has ever since retained. CHAP. I. 1614. which is named New England.

The success of Captain Smith's voyage, and the favourable accounts that he gave of the country, though they contributed not a little to stimulate the vigour of commercial adventure, could not overcome the general aversion to a permanent settlement in the territory, which the misfortunes of the first colonists had created in England, and which was appointed to preserve that corner of the Almighty's creation for the inhabitation of the most faithful and oppressed of his people. The impediments to a colonial establishment in New England were greatly increased by the conduct of Hunt, who had been associated with Smith in the late voyage. This sordid and profligate man, unwilling that the benefit of the existing narrow traffic with the company's territories, which was exclusively shared by himself and a few others who were aware of its advantages, should be more generally diffused by the formation of a colony, resolved to defeat the design by embroiling his countrymen with the natives; and for this purpose, having enticed a number of these people on board his ship, he set sail with them for Malaga, where he had been ordered to touch on his homeward voyage, and sold them for slaves to the Spaniards. The company, indignant at his wickedness, instantly dismissed him from their service; but the mischief was done, and the next vessel that re-

BOOK II.

turned from New England brought intelligence of the vindictive hostilities of the savages. Undismayed by all these difficulties and dangers, Smith determined to make an effort for the colonization of the northern territory; and having infused his own resolute hope and courage into some of the leading patentees, he was enabled, by their assistance, to equip a small squadron, and set sail at the head of a body of emigrants for New England. Thus far could energy prevail; but in a struggle with fate, farther advancement was impracticable; and Captain Smith, having now accomplished all that man could do, was destined to experience that all was unavailing. The voyage was one uninterrupted scene of disaster. After encountering a violent tempest, by which the vessels had nearly perished, Smith found his authority invaded by the mutinous disposition of his crew; and in this situation he fell an easy prey to a squadron of French pirates, who confiscated his ships, and detained him long in captivity. It was happy for himself and for mankind that he lived to return to his country, and write the history of his travels, instead of reaching New England; where his blood would probably have stained the land which his talent and virtue had contributed to illustrate. Several years afterwards, the company having discovered that an Indian named *Squanto*, one of the persons whom Hunt had kidnapped, had escaped from the Spaniards, and found his way to Britain, acquitted themselves to his satisfaction of the injury he had suffered, loaded him with kindness, and sent him back to New England, along with a small expedition commanded by one Dormer, who was instructed to avail himself of Squanto's assistance in regaining the friendship of the Indians. But although Squanto earnestly endeavoured

1614.

1615.

His ineffectual attempt to conduct a colony thither.

1619.

to conciliate the minds of his countrymen, and assured them that Hunt's treachery had been reprobated and punished in England, they refused to be pacified, and watching a favourable opportunity, attacked and dangerously wounded Dormer and many of his party, who, escaping with difficulty from the hostile region, left Squanto behind to enforce at more leisure and with better success his topics of apology and conciliation. Disgusted by so many disappointments, the company laid aside all farther thoughts of establishing colonies in New England. An insignificant traffic bounded their own adventures; and they made no other exercise of their dominion over the territory than by disposing of small portions of the northern quarter of it to private adventurers, who occupied them in summer as mercantile factories or victualling stations for the uses of vessels resorting there for trade [3].

1619.

The company relinquish the design of colonizing New England.

We have sufficient assurance that the course of this world is not governed by chance; and that the series of events is regulated by divine ordinance, and adapted to wise though often inscrutable purposes. As it could not then be without design, so it seems to have been for no common object that discomfiture was thus entailed on the counsels of princes, the schemes of the wise, and the efforts of the brave. It was for no ordinary people that the land was reserved, and of no common qualities or vulgar superiority that it was ordained to be the prize. New England was the destined asylum of oppressed piety and liberty of conscience; and its colonization, denied to the pretensions of greatness and the efforts of might, was reserved for men whom the great and mighty despised for their littleness, overcome from their weakness, and persecuted for their integrity. The recent growth of the Virginian colony, and the repeated

[3] Smith, p. 204, 5. 221, 2, 3. 229. Neal, p. 19, 20, 21.

BOOK II. 1619.

attempts to form a settlement in New England, naturally turned to this quarter the eyes of men who felt little reluctance to forsake a country where, for conscience's sake, they had already incurred the loss of all things; whom persecution had fortified to the endurance of hardship, and piety had taught to despise it. It was at this juncture accordingly, that the project of colonizing New England was undertaken by the puritans; a body of men of whose rise, sentiments, and previous history, it is proper that we here subjoin some account [4].

History and character of the puritans.

Of all the national churches of Europe, which at the era of the Reformation renounced the doctrine and revolted from the dominion of the see of Rome, there was none in which the origin of the reform had been so discreditable, or the immediate proceedings to which it gave rise so unreasonable and inequitable, as the church of England. This arose partly from the circumstance of the reform in this church having originated exclusively with the temporal magistrate [5], and partly from the character of the individual by whom this interposition of magisterial authority was employed. In the Palatinate, in Brandenburgh, Holland, Geneva, and Scotland, where the reform proceeded from the general conviction, the doctrine and constitution of the national church corresponded

[4] "——————— Causas memora, quo numine laeso,
——————————— tot volvere casus
Insignes pietate viros, tot adire labores,
Impulerit"——

[5] It has been asserted by a host of English writers that, owing to this interposition of the magistrate, the invasion of supposed rights and established possessions that ensued on the Reformation was conducted with much greater sobriety and equity in England than in Scotland. The very reverse appears to me a juster proposition. Henry's robberies of the ecclesiastical orders were the more inequitable in proportion to their deliberation. The Scotch populace rose in tumultuous indignation against their oppressors. Henry trampled on the defenceless, and arrayed his rapine in the solemn apparel of acts of state. The explosions of popular justice are attended with a marked violence, and have but a short-lived duration. As palpable deviations from the ordinary line of human action, their influence does not affect general morality. The actings of despotism cover their violence with a grave disguise; and associating them with principles and precedents, render their evil fatally permanent.

with the religious sentiments of the people. The biblical christianity taught by Calvin and Luther (with varieties occasioned by variety of human weakness and inequality of attainment) superseded the traditional dogmas of the church of Rome; and the primitive simplicity of the presbyterian administration (with similar varieties of similar origin) superseded the pompous pageantry of her ecclesiastical constitution. In England, the reformation originating from a very different source, its institutions received a strong tincture from qualities proportionally different. The same haughty and imperious disposition that had prompted Henry the Eighth to abolish the authority of the church of Rome in his dominions, regulated all his proceedings in constructing a substitute for the system he had taken away. Abetted by a crew of servile dependants and sordid nobles, whom he enriched with the spoils of the plundered monasteries, and by a compliant House of Commons, whose profession of faith veered about with every variation of the royal creed, he paid no respect whatever, in the institutions which he successively established, to the sentiments of the body of the people—a portion of his subjects to whose petitions he once answered, by a public proclamation, that they were "but brutes and inexpert folk," and as unfit to advise him as blind men were to judge of colours[6]. His object was to substitute himself and his successors as heads of the church in place of the pope; and for the maintenance of this usurped dominion, he retained, both in the ceremonies of worship and the constitution of the ministry, a great deal of the machinery which his predecessor in the supremacy had found useful. The vehemence of his character detracted somewhat from the policy of his devices, and very much abated their politic appear-

CHAP. I.

[6] Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. p. 418, 419.

BOOK II.

ance by that show of good faith and sincerity which accompanied all his actions, and which was but the natural result of sincere and vehement selfishness, and an undoubting conviction of the superiority of his understanding and the infallibility of his judgment[7]. While he rigidly denied the right of private judgment to his subjects, his own inordinate exercise of this right continually tempted them to partake the satisfaction it seemed to afford him; and the frequent variations of the creeds he imposed, at once excited a spirit of speculation akin to his own, and practically refuted the only pretence that could entitle his judgment to the implicit assent of fallible men. The pope, expressly maintaining that he could never be in the wrong, was disabled from correcting both his own errors and those bequeathed to him by his predecessors. Henry, merely pretending to the privilege of being always in the right, defeated this pretension by the variety and inconsistency of the creeds to which he applied it. While he insisted on retaining much of the peculiar doctrine of the church of Rome, he attacked, in its infallibility, a doctrine not only highly important in itself, but the sole sanction and foundation of a great many others. Notwithstanding all his exertions, and aided indeed by some part of his own conduct, a spirit of religious inquiry began to arise among the multitude of professors who blindly or interestedly had followed the fortunes and the variations of the royal creed: and the knowledge of divine truth, combined with an ardent regard for simplicity of divine worship, arising first in the higher classes, spread downwards through the successive grades of society in this and the fol-

[7] The public disputation which he held with one of his subjects, the noble-minded though unfortunate Lambert, who denied the doctrine of the real presence, was, perhaps, regarded at the time as an act of admirable zeal and most generous condescension. It might have merited this praise if the horrid death by which he revenged the impotence of his logic, did not prove it to have been an overflowing of arrogance and vain glory.

lowing reigns. The administration of inquisitorial oaths, and the infliction in various instances of decapitation, torture, and burning, for the crime of heresy during Henry's reign, demonstrate how fully he had embraced the character as well as the pretensions of the Romish see [8], and how ineffectually he had laboured to impose his own heterogeneous creed on the understandings of his subjects. Even in his lifetime, the protestant doctrines had spread far beyond the limits of his own creed; and in their illegitimate extent had made numerous proselytes in his court and kingdom. The propagation of them was aided by the translation and diffusion of the Scriptures, which he vainly endeavoured to prevent, and which enabled his people to draw truth for themselves unstinted and unadulterated from its everlasting wells. The open profession of these illicit opinions was in many instances repressed by the terror of his inflexible cruelty, and by the influence over his measures which his lay and clerical courtiers found it easy to obtain by feigning implicit submission to his capricious and imperious temper [9]. The temptations which these men were exposed to proved fatal in some instances to their virtue; and several of them (even the virtuous Cranmer) thought themselves obliged though reluctantly to concur in punishing by fire and faggot the open profession of the sentiments which they secretly cherished in their own breasts. They were afterwards compelled themselves to drink of the same cup; and enabled to make some atonement to the cause of truth by the heroism with which, in Mary's bloody reign, they suffered for the doctrines which they had persecuted before.

CHAP. I.

By the death of Henry the Eighth, his protestant

[8] One of his laws (31 Henry VIII. cap. 14.) bears the presumptuous title of "An act for *abolishing diversity of opinions* in certain articles concerning the christian religion."

[9] Lord Herbert, p. 560, l. 572.

BOOK II.

subjects were exempted from the necessity of farther dissimulation. In the reign of Edward the Sixth, the catholic doctrines were expunged from the national creed, and the fundamental articles of the protestant faith recognised and established by law. As among the other practices of the preceding reign, the weak and wicked policy of enforcing uniformity of faith and worship by persecution was still retained[1], the influence of temporal fear and favour contributed, no doubt, to encumber the protestant church with many reluctant and hypocritical professors. In the hope of reconciling the minds of men as extensively as possible to the system which they had established, the ministers of Edward preserved not only the ecclesiastical constitution which Henry had retained, but as much of the ancient ceremonial of worship as they thought would gratify the taste and predilections of minds that still hankered after catholic pageantry. They rather yielded to the necessity of the times, than indulged their own sentiments or followed out their principles; and pretty plainly insinuated their opinion, that whenever the times could bear it, a farther reformation should be introduced into the establishment, by inserting a prayer to that purpose in the Liturgy[2]. But in this attempt, the rulers of the English reformed church encountered a spirit of resistance, originating in the protestant body, of which they considered themselves the heads. During the late reign the disaffection that had been cherished in secret towards the national church had not confined itself to the doctrines of the establishment, which many protestants connected in their opinion and esteem with the ceremonial rites and clerical habits that had for ages been

[1] 2 & 3 Edward VI. cap. i. Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 3. Rymer, xv. 181.

[2] Neal's History of New England, vol. i. p. 48.

their inveterate associate and distinctive livery. With their enmity to popish doctrine, they combined an aversion to those ceremonies which had proved so subservient to popish imposture; which seemed to owe their survivance in the national system to the same error that had retained so much catholic heresy; and which diverted the mind from that spiritual worship claimed by Him who is a spirit, and has commanded all men to worship him in spirit and in truth. These sentiments, which were subsequently matured into the doctrines of the puritans, had already taken possession of the minds of some of the English protestants: but their operation was as yet neither very powerful nor extensive. One of the most remarkable indications of their influence that has been transmitted to us was evinced by Bishop Hooper, who, in the reign of Edward, refused to be consecrated to his office in what he deemed the superstitious habits appropriated by the church to the episcopal order. His protestant opinions had rendered him an exile from England during the latter part of the preceding reign, and his puritan sentiments had been confirmed by the conversation of the presbyterian teachers, with whom he associated during his residence abroad. Cranmer and Ridley, who were afterwards his fellow martyrs under the persecution of Mary, resorted to arguments, threats, entreaties, and imprisonment, to overcome Hooper's objections; and it was not without very great difficulty that his inflexible spirit condescended to terminate the dispute by a compromise[3]. The sentiments which had thus received the sanction of a man so distinguished by the excellence of his character as well as the eminence of his station in the church, continued to manifest themselves throughout the short reign of Ed-

CHAP. I.

[3] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 152. Heylin's History of the Reformation, p. 90—93.

BOOK II.

ward; and there was scarcely a rite of the established worship, or habit of the clergy, that escaped objection and contention[4]. The defenders of the practices that were thus assailed did not contend that they were of divine appointment, or in themselves of essential importance. They maintained that they were in themselves inoffensive, and that by long establishment and inveterate association they had taken possession of the reverence of the people, and attached their affections to the national worship. They admitted that, as useless appendages, it was desirable that time and reason should obliterate these practices; but insisted that it would be both unwise and illiberal to abolish them forcibly, and at the risk of unhinging the important sentiments with which they had accidentally connected themselves. This reasoning was very unsatisfactory to the puritans, who rejected such temporizing policy as the counsel of lukewarm piety and worldly wisdom, and regarded with abhorrence the mixture of superstitious attractions with the motives to that which should be entirely a reasonable service[5]; and whatever weight the arguments of the prevailing party may be considered to possess, they certainly cannot be allowed to justify their violent imposition of observances, which at best they regarded as inoffensive, on persons who considered them as sinful and pernicious. But the doctrines of the puritans, whether supported or not by superior weight of reason, were overborne by the weight of superior numbers; and their sentiments might perhaps have gradually died away if the reign of Edward had been much farther prolonged, or his sceptre been transmitted to a protestant successor. But the reign of Mary was appointed not only to purify the protestant body, by separating the true from the false or formal

[4] Strype, vol. i. p. 416.

[5] Ibid.

professors, but to radicate every protestant sentiment by exposing it to the fiery test of papal rage and persecution. CHAP. I.

The administration of Queen Mary was productive of events that tended to revive and disseminate the puritan sentiments, and at the same time to confirm the opposition of some of their adversaries. During the heat of her bloody persecution, many of the protestants forsook their country and took refuge in the protestant states of Germany and Switzerland. There, in regulating for themselves the forms and ordinances of divine worship, their ancient disputes naturally revived, and were animated by the approach of the two parties to an equality of numbers that had never before subsisted between them, and protracted by the utter want of a spirit of mutual forbearance, and the absence of any tribunal from which an authoritative decision could be obtained. The puritans beheld with pleasure in the continental churches the establishment of a constitution and ritual which had been the object of their warm approbation and earnest desire; and they either composed for themselves a formula of religious association on a similar model, or entered into communion with the churches established in the places where they resided. Their opponents, on the other hand, clung more firmly than ever to their ancient practices: they refused to surrender any one of the institutions of the faith, for the sake of which they had forsaken their country; and they plumed themselves on reviving, amidst the misfortunes of their church at home, an entire and accurate model of her ordinances in the scene of their banishment. Both parties were willing to have united in church fellowship with each other, if either could have yielded in the dispute concerning forms of office, habits, and ceremonies. But though each considered itself strongest in faith, neither felt disposed on that

BOOK II.

account to bear the infirmities of the other; and though united in the great fundamental points of christian belief, and associated by the common calamity that rendered them fellow-exiles in a foreign land, their fruitless controversies separated them more widely than they had ever been before, and inflamed them with mutual dislike and animosity [6]. On the death of Mary both parties returned to England: the one joyfully expecting to see their ancient worship restored; the other more firmly wedded to their puritan sentiments by the opportunity they had obtained of freely indulging them, and entertaining (in common with many who had remained at home) an increased antipathy to the habits and ceremonies which the recent ascendancy and proceedings of the catholics had strongly associated with the odious features of popish fraud, delusion, and cruelty.

The hopes which the puritans derived from the accession of Elizabeth were seconded by the disposition of many, even of their opponents among the leading protestant churchmen, who had weathered the storm at home. Several of the most distinguished persons of this class expressed the strongest reluctance, in restoring the protestant constitution, to interweave with its fundamental canons, any subordinate regulations that might be injurious to men endeared to them by their common calamity, and so recently associated with them as confessors for the substance, not the mere forms of religion. Some of the puritans, no doubt, were bent on reducing the model of the church to a conformity with their own sentiments; and some of their opponents were as eager to prohibit and suppress every trace of puritan practice [7]. The majority, however, as well as the leading members of both parties were earnestly desirous to effect an accommodation on the principles of mutual forbearance, and willingly agreed

[6] Neal, i. 47, 48.

[7] Ibid. i. 48.

that the disputed habits and ceremonies should be retained in the church, as observances of a discretionary and indifferent nature, not to be controverted by the one nor enforced by the other, but left to be confirmed or abolished by the silent progress of sentiment and opinion [8]. But the hopes of the zealous and the concessions of the candid were frustrated by the character of the queen; whose strong hand and imperious temper soon defaced the fair prospect of concord and happiness, and involved the people committed to her care in a long and widening scene of strife, malignity, and misery. Elizabeth inherited the haughty character of her father and his taste for splendid pageantry. And though she had been educated with her brother Edward, and her understanding had received a strong tincture of protestant opinions, her sentiments powerfully biassed her in favour of the rites, discipline, and even doctrine of the catholics—of every thing, in short, that could lend an imposing aspect to the establishment of which she was the supreme head, and increase the strictness of the dominion which she was resolved to maintain over the clergy. She publicly thanked one of her chaplains for preaching in defence of the real presence, and rebuked another for mentioning with little reverence the popish notion of an inherent virtue in the symbol of the cross [9]. She desired to make the clergy priests, and not preachers; discouraged their sermons; and would have interdicted them from marriage had she not been restrained by the remonstrances of her minister Lord Burleigh [1]. Disregarding the wishes and entreaties both of churchmen and puritans, she restored King Edward's constitutions with no other alteration than the omission of a few passages in the liturgy which were offensive to the catholics; and

CHAP. LII

[8] Strype's Life of Parker, p. 154. Neal, i. 49. [9] Heylin, p. 124.
[1] Strype's Life of Parker, p 107, &c.

BOOK II.

caused a law to be framed for the enforcement, by fine, imprisonment, and deprivation, of a strict uniformity of religious worship[2]. This was the first step in a line of policy which the church of England has had deep and lasting cause to deplore, and which, by compelling thousands of her best and ablest ministers reluctantly to forsake her communion, afflicted her with a decay of internal piety, from which, after the lapse of many generations, she has even now but imperfectly revived.

But this law was for some time very feebly and imperfectly enforced. The queen could not at once find a sufficient number of men fitted to sustain the dignity of episcopal elevation, and yet willing to become the instruments of her arbitrary designs; nor could all her efforts for some time excite general strife and ill-will among men of whom so many, though differing from each other on subordinate points, had but lately been united by community of sentiment and suffering in the noblest cause that can interest human hearts. Her first bench of bishops were not only eager to clear themselves of the reproach of having composed or approved the existing laws[3], but by a general forbearance to enforce them, enabled the puritan ministers and practices to obtain a considerable footing in the church. And though she reprimanded the primate Parker for his negligence, and at length stimulated him to the exertion of some severities in the enforcement of the act of uniformity, it was far from receiving ge-

[2] Neal, i. 49, 50.

[3] In their letters to their friends at home and abroad, they not only reprobate the obnoxious institutions, but promise to withstand them "till they be sent back to hell, from whence they came," to sow discord, confusion, and vain formality in the church. Burnet, part iii. p. 314. Neal, i. 49. There seems to be very little difference between these expressions of English bishops and the language of a Scotch presbyterian minister about the same time, who pronounced, in a sermon, that the Queen of England was no better than an atheist, and "all kings were the devil's children." Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland. The difference was, that the conduct and language of the one were more consistent than those of the other.

neral execution; and by various acts of connivance on the one side, and prudent reserve on the other, the puritans were enabled to enjoy some semblance of peace. Their tranquillity was lengthened and increased by the succession of Grindall to the primacy. The liberal principles and humane disposition of this man revolted against the tyrannical injustice which he was required to enforce; and at the expense of his own imprisonment and the disfavour of his temporal sovereign, he prolonged the duration of lenient policy, and the peace of the church [4].

CHAP. I.

At length, on the death of Grindall, the primacy was bestowed on Whitgift, a man of severe temper, a rigid votary of the discipline and policy of the church, and an implacable adversary of the puritans, against whom he had repeatedly directed the hostility of his pen, and was eager to be intrusted with the exercise of a more formidable weapon. From this period all the force of the law was spent in uninterrupted efforts to vex the persons, or violate the consciences of the puritans. A numerous body of puritan ministers were deprived of their livings; and many of their parishioners were punished by fine and imprisonment for following their ministry into the fields and woods, where they continued to exercise it. Great endeavours were used by the wise and good to move the queen, ere yet it was too late, to stay the waters of strife she was letting out upon the land. Burleigh and Walsingham earnestly interceded for the suspended ministers, and pressed every consideration of the indulgence due to their conscientious scruples, the humane concern to which their families were entitled, and the respect which policy demanded for the sentiments of so great a body of the people by whom they were esteemed and beloved. The House of Commons too showed

[4] Strype's Life of Grindall. Neal, i. 49—52.

BOOK II.

a desire to procure some relief for the oppressed puritans. But Whitgift flung himself on his knees before the queen and implored her to uphold the sinking church, and to suffer no alteration that would give men leave to say *that she had maintained an error.* His humiliation, most probably, was prompted rather by flattery than fear; for Elizabeth had shown no inclination whatever to mitigate an imperious policy so congenial to her own character. The enforcing of implicit deference to her judgment, and of rigid conformity to the model she had enacted, was the result of her early and stubborn choice, and maintained with her usual vigour and vehemence of determination. She overbore all opposition; and the primate and his associates being encouraged to proceed in the course they had begun, their zeal enlarging as it flowed, soon transported them beyond all bounds of decency and humanity. They were allowed to establish a court of commissioners for the detection of non-conformity, which even the privy council remonstrated against as a copy of the Spanish inquisition. By the assistance of this tyrannical engine, they made freer course for the severities of the law; and having rendered integrity hazardous, they made prudence unavailing to the puritans. In vain were they reminded of the maxim of the first christian council, which recommended the imposition of no greater burthen on the people than the observation of necessary things. For the purpose of imposing a load of ceremonies, which without the actual profession of popery they could never represent as observances essential to salvation, they committed such oppression as rendered the ceremonies themselves tenfold more obnoxious to those to whom even indulgent treatment would have failed to recommend them, and roused the opposition of others who would willingly have complied with the ceremonial ordi-

nances if they had been proposed to them merely as matters of convenient observance, but revolted from them, as fraught with danger and mischief, when it was attempted to bind them on the conscience, and place them on a level with the most sacred obligations. The most signal fruit of this increased severity was the enkindling of great additional zeal and fervour in the minds of the puritans; a rapid multiplication of their numbers by strong sympathy with their courage, and compassion for their sufferings; and a growing abhorrence in their body to the order of bishops and the whole frame of a church which to them was an organ of injustice and tyranny. It is certain that the puritans of those times were exceedingly averse to separate from the church of England; and their ministers were still more reluctant to abet a schism, and renounce their preferments. They willingly allowed her to be a true church, and merely claimed indulgence in the matter of a few ceremonies which did not affect her constitution. But the injurious treatment they received, held out a premium to very different considerations, and not only influenced their passions, but stimulated their inquiries and extended their objections. Cast out of the national church, they were forced to inquire if they could not do without that which they found they could not have; and were easily led to question if the features of a true church could be discerned in that body, which not only rejected but persecuted them for a conscientious adherence, in a matter of ceremonial observance, to what they believed to be the will of Christ. As the puritan principles spread through the mass of society, and encountered in their progress a greater variety of character in their votaries, and of treatment from their adversaries, considerable differences and inequalities of sentiment and conduct appeared in different portions of the puritan

BOOK III.

body. Some of them caught the spirit of their oppressors, and, in words at least, retaliated the unchristian usage they underwent. They combined the doctrines of the New with the practices of the Old Testament, in a manner which will not excite the wonder of those who recollect that the very first little flock of Christians who were collected in the world committed the same error; and so far forgot the spirit they had received, as even in the presence of their Divine Head to propose the invocation of fire from heaven on the men who had insulted them. But the instances of this spirit were exceedingly rare; and it was not till the following reigns that it prevailed either strongly or widely. In general the oppressed puritans conducted themselves with the fortitude of heroes and the patience of saints; and, what is surprising, they made more zealous and successful efforts to maintain their loyalty, than the queen and the bishops did to extinguish it[5]. Many, in defiance of every danger, followed the preaching of their ministers into the highways and fields, or assembled privately in conventicles, which the general sympathy, or the connivance of their secret partisans within the church, sometimes preserved from detection. Many reluctantly abided in the national church, unweariedly pursuing their ineffectual attempts to promote parliamentary interference in behalf of the puritans, and casting a wistful eye on the presumptive succession of a prince who had been educated in a presbyterian society. Some at length

[5] Numberless instances might be adduced of the patience with which they endured the severities of ecclesiastical vengeance. Nor was their patience and magnanimity, less conspicuous in the endurance of civil tyranny. A puritan, having written a book against the danger which might attend the marriage of the queen with a popish prince, was condemned to lose his right hand as a libeller. The instant the blow was struck, he took off his hat with his other hand, and, waving it in the air, cried "God save the queen." The puritans were much more afraid of the revival of popery in England, than of the severity of those ecclesiastical laws under which papists and puritans were equally liable to oppression. To this extent they concurred with the ecclesiastical policy of Elizabeth.

openly disclaimed the national establishment, and were led, by the cruel excesses of human authority, to the conviction, that human authority had no proper place in the administration of the kingdom of Christ[6]. CHAP. I.

The proceedings of the queen were, doubtless, cordially abetted by the angry zeal of those churchmen who had partaken of the controversy that had raged between the two parties during their exile on the continent in the preceding reign. But the whole civil and ecclesiastical policy of this reign was mainly and essentially the offspring of Elizabeth's own character. The puritan writers, bestowing an undue proportion of their resentment on the persons whose functions rendered them the instruments as well as the apologists of the queen's ecclesiastical system, have been disposed to impute the tyrannical features of this system exclusively to the bishops, and particularly to Whitgift, whose influence with Elizabeth they ascribe to his constant habit of addressing her on his knees[7]. But Whitgift, in abetting her enmity to the puritans, merely paid his court to a disposition which she had already evinced in the strongest manner, and swam with the tide of that resolute determination which he saw must prevail. The abject homage which he paid her was nothing more than she was universally accustomed to receive; and the observation which it has seemed to deserve from the puritans, denotes rather a peculiarity in their own manners, than any thing remarkable in the conduct of their adversary. Not one of her subjects ever addressed the queen without kneeling; wherever she turned her eye, every one fell on his knees; and even in her absence, the nobility, who were alone

[6] Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 115. 157. Fuller's Church History, B. ix. p. 174. Neal, i. 53—58.
[7] Neal, i. 70.

BOOK II.

thought worthy to cover her table, made three genuflexions every time they approached or retired from it in the performance of their menial duty[8]. This was an exact counterpart of the homage rendered by the catholics to the Real Presence, which they believed to reside in the Host; and the sentiments which it tended to form both in the party receiving, and the parties who rendered it, were confirmed by the language of parliament, in which the queen was continually flattered with praises and attributes appropriated to the Supreme Being. Nor was this servile system of manners peculiar to the reign of Elizabeth. On the contrary, it had been carried even to a greater extent under the government of her predecessors; and her ministers frequently noted and deplored the decay of that fearfulness and reverence of their superiors which had formerly characterised the inferior estates of the realm[9]. Sense and reason participated in the ignominy and degradation of manners; arrogance disordered the understanding of the prince, while servility deformed the sentiments of the people; and if Henry the Eighth, by a royal proclamation, assured the populace that they were *brutes*, the same populace, in their petitions against his measures, represented the promotion of *low-born persons* to public trust and honour, as one of the most serious and intolerable grievances that they had to complain of[1].

The sentiments which such practices and manners tended to form in the mind of the queen, enhanced the displeasure with which she regarded the puritans, who were fated to offend her by their political conduct, as well as their religious opinions. Many of

[8] Hentzner's Journey into England in 1598, (Strawberry Hill edition), p. 50, 51. This abject ceremonial was abolished by King James, who, though highly pleased with adulation, found himself embarrassed by a mode of displaying it so ill suited to his awkward manners and ungainly appearance.

[9] Hayne's Collection of State Papers, p. 586, 588.

[1] Lord Herbert, p. 410.

the more eminent persons among them obtained seats in parliament, where they endeavoured to revive a spirit of liberty, and direct its energy to the protection of their oppressed brethren. Impelled by the severity of the restraints they experienced, to investigate the boundaries of that authority from which they originated, and regulating their sentiments rather by the consequences they foresaw than by the precedents that confronted them, they questioned the most inveterate abuses, and obtained the confidence of the people by showing themselves the indefatigable and fearless defenders of the oppressed. In the annals of these times, we find them continually supporting petitions in parliament against monopolies, and advocating motions for reformation of ecclesiastical abuses. Attracting popular favour, and willing to undergo the burden of parliamentary attendance, they gradually multiplied their numbers in the House of Commons, and acquired an ascendant over its deliberations. The queen, observing that the puritans were the sole abettors of measures calculated to restrict her prerogative, was easily led to ascribe the peculiarity of their religious and political opinions to the same source—a malignant aversion to dignities, and impatience of subordination. Their reluctance to render to the Deity that ceremonious homage which the most illustrious persons in the land rendered to herself, and their eagerness to control her prerogative, which nowhere else experienced resistance, appeared to her the indications of an insolent disregard, no less of the Supreme Being than of herself,—His acknowledged vicegerent and representative; a presumptuous insurrection of spirit against the reverence due to God, and the loyalty due to the prince[2].

[2] In a speech from the throne, she informed the commons (after a candid confession, that she knew nobody who had read or reflected as much as herself) that whoever attacked the constitutions of the church, slandered her as its supreme

BOOK II.

Nothing could be more unjust and fallacious than this royal reasoning. The religion, as well as the loyalty, of the puritans, was the less ceremonious, only because it was the more reflective, profound, and substantial. To preserve a good conscience, they encountered the extremities of ecclesiastical rigour. In spite of every wrong, they evinced a resolute constancy of regard to their sovereign. And neither intimidated by danger nor dispirited by defeat, they maintained a continual effort to check the excesses of despotic authority, and to rear and cherish the public liberties of their country. They have been charged with a sour and caustic spirit, by those who forced them to eat their bread in bitterness and carry their lives in their hands; of an enmity to literature, and an exclusive reference to the Bible, by those who destroyed their writings, committed the press to episcopal licensers, and deprived them of every source of comfort and direction but what the Bible could supply; of an exaggerated estimate of little things, by those who made such things the cause of cruel suffering and enormous wrong; of a stern jealousy of civil power, by those who made it continually their interest to question and abridge the authority by which they were oppressed. It is acknowledged by an eminent philosophic historian, who will not be suspected of any undue partiality for these people, that the puritans were the preservers of civil and religious liberty in

head, divinely appointed; and that, if the papists were inveterate enemies to her person, the modern sectaries were no less formidable to all kingly government. She added, that she was determined to suppress their overboldness in presumptuously scanning the will of God Almighty,—thus presuming, by the word of her mouth, to arrest the stayless course of thought, and practically appropriating the power of that Being whose honour she pretended to vindicate. D'Ewes' Account of Queen Elizabeth's Parliaments, p. 328. The cruel law that was passed in the thirty-fifth year of the queen's reign, against all recusants to attend the national church, is entitled "An act to retain her majesty's subjects in their due obedience," and was intended, as the preamble declares, to repress the evil practices of "seditious sectaries and disloyal persons,"—synonymous descriptions of guilt in the estimation of Elizabeth.

England[3]. It was a scion of the same stock that was destined to propagate these blessings in America. CHAP. I.

Rise of the Brownists or Independents.

The minds of a considerable party among the puritans had been gradually prepared to disclaim the authority of the national church, and to deny the lawfulness of holding communion with it; insomuch, that when these opinions were first publicly preached by Robert Brown in 1586, they rapidly obtained the assent and open profession of multitudes. Brown, who gained the distinction of bestowing his name on a sect which derived very little credit from the appellation, was a young clergyman, of good family, endowed with a restless, daring character, a fiery temper, and a heart of controversy. Encountering the wrath of the ecclesiastics with fiercer wrath, and trampling on their arrogance with more than clerical pride[4], he roamed about the country inveighing against bishops, ecclesiastical courts, ceremonies, and ordination of ministers, and exulting, above all, in the boast that he had been committed to thirty-two prisons, in some of which he could not see his hand at noon-day. His impetuous and illiberal spirit accelerated the declaration of opinions which were not yet matured in the puritan body, and which, but for his unseasonable interposition and perverting influence, might sooner have been ripened into the system of the independents. The queen and the bishops applied

[3] "So absolute indeed was the authority of the crown, that the precious spark of liberty had been kindled and was preserved by the puritans alone; and it was to this sect, whose principles appear so frivolous and habits so ridiculous, that the English owe the whole freedom of their constitution." Hume's England, vol. v. p. 183. Again, "It was only during the next generation that the noble principles of liberty took root, and, spreading themselves under the shelter of puritanical absurdities, became fashionable among the people." Ibid. p. 469. The only fault that this historian can find with the puritans is, that they were embued with the only principles which can inspire men with a courage insurmountable by any human motive.

[4] His grandfather had a charter from Henry the Eighth, confirmed by act of parliament, "giving him leave to put on his cap in the presence of the king, or his heirs, or any lord spiritual or temporal in the land, and not to put it off but for his own ease or pleasure." The cap seems to have transmitted its properties with its privileges to the grandson of him whose arrogance could solicit such a distinction.

BOOK II.

the usual remedy of persecution to this innovation, with even more than the usual evidence of the unfitness of their policy to effect its object. Supported by powerful arguments, maintained with zeal and courage, and opposed by cruelties that disgraced the name of religion, the principles of the Brownists spread widely through the land. Brown himself, and a congregation more immediately attached to him, expatriated to Middleburgh, in Zealand, where they were permitted to establish themselves unmolested. But Brown had collected around him spirits too congenial to his own, to preserve their union when the strong band of oppression was withdrawn. The congregation crumbled into parties, and was soon dissolved; and Brown, returning to England, joined the national church, and, contracting dissolute habits, ended his days in indolence and contempt. But the doctrines which he had been the means of introducing to public notice had firmly rooted themselves in the puritan body, and received daily accessions to the numbers and respectability of their votaries [5].

The Brownists did not differ from the church of England in any of her articles of faith, but they looked upon her discipline as popish and anti-christian, and all her sacraments and ordinances as invalid; and they renounced communion, not only with her, but with every other protestant church that was not constructed on the same model as their own. Their model was derived from the closest imitation of the primitive institutions, as delineated in scripture. When a church was to be gathered, all who desired to be members of it, made a confession of their faith before one another, and signed a covenant by which they obliged themselves to walk together in the order of the gospel. Each congregation formed an independent church, and the admission or exclusion of

5 Fuller, B. ix. p. 167, 168. Neal, i. 58—60.

members resided with the brethren composing it. Their church officers were elected from among themselves, and separated to their several offices of preaching the word, administering the ordinances, and taking care of the poor, by fasting and prayer and the imposition of the hands of some of the brethren. They did not allow the priesthood to be a distinct order, or to invest a man with an indelible character; but, as the appointment of the church conferred his function (which in its exercise, too, was limited to the special body to which he was attached), so the same authority was sufficient to deprive him of it. It was lawful for any one of the brethren to exercise the liberty of prophesying, as it was called, which meant the giving a word of exhortation to the people; and it was usual for some of them, after sermon, to ask questions, and reason upon the doctrines that had been preached [6]. The condition to which the puritans were reduced by their oppressors, favoured the acceptance of all that was separating and unsocial in the principles of the Brownist teachers; for, while every congregation had to assemble by stealth, it was impossible to maintain any intercourse between their churches, or to ascertain how far they mutually agreed in doctrine and discipline. CHAP. I.

Against these men, in whose characters were united more piety, virtue, courage, and loyalty than any other portion of her people displayed, did Elizabeth and her ecclesiastical counsellors direct the whole fury of the law. John Udall, one of their ministers, was tried in the year 1591, for having published a defence of their tenets, which he entitled *A Demonstration of the Discipline which Christ hath prescribed in his Word for the Government of the Church in all Times and Places until the World's End.* This, consistently with Elizabeth's declaration, that who-

[6] Neal, i. 61, 62.

BOOK II.

ever attacked the church, slandered the queen, was regarded as a scandalous libel, and Udall was arraigned for a capital felony. When he was told by one of the judges that a book replete with sentiments so inconsistent with the established institutions, tended to the overthrowing of the state and the rousing of rebellion, he replied, "My lords, that be far from me; for we teach that, reforming things amiss, if the prince will not consent, the weapons that subjects are to fight with all, are repentance and prayers, patience and tears." The judge offered him his life if he would recant; and added, that he was now ready to pronounce sentence of death. "And I am ready to receive it," cried this magnanimous man; "for I protest before God (not knowing that I am to live an hour) that the cause is good, and I am contented to receive sentence, so that I may leave it to posterity how I have suffered for the cause[7]." He was condemned to die; and being still urged to submit to the queen, he willingly expressed his sorrow that any of his writings should have given her offence, and disclaimed any such wish or intention, but resolutely refused to disown what he believed to be the cause of truth and of liberty of conscience. By the interest of some powerful friends, a conditional pardon was obtained for him; but before the terms of it could be adjusted, or the queen prevailed on to sign it, he died in prison. Penry, Greenwood, Barrow[8], and Dennis, of whom the first two were clergymen, and the others laymen, were soon after tried on similar charges, and perished by the hands of the executioner.

[7] Howe's State Trials, vol. i. p. 1294, 1295.

[8] This man, while lingering in the dungeon, where he awaited his fate, presented a supplication to parliament, which contains a frightful picture of the horrors of imprisonment in that age. "We crave for all of us," he says, "but the liberty either to die openly or to live openly in the land of our nativity. If we deserve death, it beseemeth the majesty of justice not to see us closely murdered, yea, starved to death with hunger and cold, and stifled in loathsome dungeons," &c. Neal, i. 64. But the parliament was compelled to leave Barrow and his fellow-sufferers to the mercy of the queen and the bishops.

These men were offered a pardon if they would retract their profession; but, inspired by a courage which no earthly motive could overcome, they clung to their principles, and committed their life to its author. Some others were hanged for dispersing the writings, and several for attending the discourses, of the Brownists. Many more endured the torture of severe imprisonment, and numerous families were reduced to indigence by heavy fines[9]. As the most virtuous and honourable are ever, on such occasions, most exposed to danger, every stroke of the oppressor's arm is aimed at those very qualities in his adversaries that constitute his own defence and security; and, hence, severities so odious to mankind, and so calculated to unite by the strongest sympathy the minds of the spectators and sufferers together, are more likely to diminish the virtue than the numbers of a party. By dint of long continuance, and of the exertion of their influence on a greater variety of character, they finally divested a great many of the puritans of the spirit of meekness and non-resistance for which the fathers of the party had been so conspicuous. But this fruit was not gathered till a subsequent reign; and their first effort was not only to multiply the numbers, but to confirm the virtue of the puritans. When persecution had as yet but invigorated their fortitude without inspiring ferocity, a portion of this people was happily conducted to the retreat of America, there to plant and extend the principles of their noble cause, while their brethren in England remained behind to avenge its accumulated wrongs.

When the queen was informed, by Dr. Reynolds, of the calm piety which these martyrs had displayed, how they had blessed their persecuting sovereign, and turned the scaffold to which she had consigned

[9] Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 410, 413, 415, 416, 419. Fuller, B. ix. p. 169, 221. Neal, i. 63—68.

BOOK II.

them into an altar, whence they had prayed for her long and happy reign, her heart was touched with a sentiment of remorse, and she expressed regret that she had taken their lives away. But repentance with all mankind is too often but a barren anguish; and princes have been known to bewail, even with tears, the mortality of multitudes whom they were conducting to slaughter, and the shortness of that life which they were contributing still farther to abridge. Elizabeth, so far from abating, increased the legislative severities whose effects she had deplored; and was fated never to see her errors till it was too late to repair them. In the year 1593, a few months after the executions which we have alluded to, a new and severer law was enacted against the puritans. This body was not only extending itself every day, but so rapidly adopting the independent opinions, that, in the debate which took place in the House of Commons on the introduction of this law, Sir Walter Raleigh stated, that the numbers of professed Brownists alone then amounted to twenty thousand. The humane arguments, however, which he derived from this consideration were unavailing to prevent the passing of a law[1], which enacted, that any person above sixteen years of age who obstinately refused, during the space of a month, to attend public worship, should be committed to prison; that, if he persisted three months in his refusal, he must abjure the realm; and that, if he either refused this condition, or returned after banishment, he should suffer death as a felon. If this act was not more fortunate than its predecessors in accomplishing the main object of checking the growth of puritan principles, it effected at least the subordinate purpose of driving a great many of the professors of independency out of England. One body of these fugitives was collected

[1] 35 Eliz. cap. 1.

about the close of the sixteenth century, at Amsterdam, where they flourished in peace and piety for upwards of a hundred years. Others retired to different protestant states on the continent, whence with fond delusive hope, they expected to be recalled to their native land by the accession of Elizabeth's successor. The remainder continued in England to fluctuate between the evasion and the violation of the law, cherishing with their principles a stern impatience arising from the galling restraints that impeded their expression; and yet retained in submission by the hope which in common with the exiles they indulged of a mitigation of their sufferings on the demise of the queen[2]. Some historians have expressed no small wonder at the ungrateful impatience for a new reign that was manifested in the close of Elizabeth's life, and at the very sudden disgust which the government of her successor experienced. But these seeming inconsistencies arose from the same cause. Elizabeth had exhausted the patience and loyalty of a great body of her subjects; and the adherence to her policy which her successor so unexpectedly manifested, disappointed all the hopes by which these virtues had been sustained. CHAP. III

The hopes of the puritans were derived from the education of the Scottish king, and supported by many of his declarations, which were eagerly repeated in England. James had been bred a presbyterian; he had publicly declared that the kirk of Scotland was the purest church in the world, and that the English Liturgy sounded in his ears like *an ill-mumbled mass*. On his accession to the English crown, he was eagerly assailed by petitions from the puritans; and at first he showed himself so far disposed to attend to their wishes as to appoint a solemn conference between them and the heads of the church party at Hampton

[2] Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 417. D'Ewes, 517. Neal, i. 61. 68, 9.

BOOK II.

Court. But the hopes inspired by this conference were completely disappointed by its result[3]. If James had ever been sincere in preferring a presbyterian to an episcopal establishment, his opinion was entirely reversed by the opportunity he now enjoyed of comparing them with each other, and by the very different treatment he experienced from the ministers of both. In Scotland he had been involved in perpetual contentions with the clergy, who did not recognise in his regal office any supremacy over their church, and who differed from him exceedingly in their estimate of his piety, capacity, and attainments. Precluded by his poverty from a display of royal pomp that might have dazzled their eyes and hid the man behind the king, he stood plainly revealed to their keen glance, an awkward personification of conceit and pedantry, obstinate but unsteady, fraught with learning, void of knowledge. They have been accused of disturbing his government by exercising a censorial power over it; but it was himself that first taught them thus to overstep their functions. Extending his administration into their peculiar province, where it had no right to penetrate, he seemed to legitimatize as well as provoke their censorial strictures on his intrusion. Mingling religion with his politics, he attempted to remodel the church; and the clergy, mingling politics with their divinity, complained of his interference and censured his government. Defending institutions not less respected than beloved by the people, they easily obtained the victory; and James met with the same success in attempting to control the sentiments of the Scotch, that in his tobacco controversy he afterwards experienced in attempting to prevail over the senses of the English. One of the ministers had gone the length of declaring that "all kings were the devil's

[3] January, 1604.

children[4];" and the king retorted the discourtesy when he found himself safe in England, by vehemently protesting that "a Scottish presbytery agrees as well with monarchy as God and the devil[5]." The sentiments that naturally resulted from offended arrogance and mortified presumption, were expanded to their amplest plenitude by the blaze of flattery and adulation with which the dignitaries of the English church received him. By them he was readily hailed the supreme head of their establishment, the protector of its privileges, the source of its splendour, the patron of its dignities; and Whitgift went so far as to declare, in the conference at Hampton Court, that *undoubtedly his majesty spake by the special assistance of God's spirit*[6]. This was the last impulse that Whitgift was able to lend to royal pride and folly. Confounded at the universal explosion of puritan sentiments, which he had flattered himself with the hope of having almost completely extinguished, his grief and concern so violently affected his aged body as to cause his death very shortly after[7]. But he had already contributed to revive the ecclesiastical spirit of Elizabeth in the mind of her successor; and James, inflamed with admiration of a church which, like a faithful mirror, so fairly reflected and illustrated his royal perfections, became henceforward the determined patron of the establishment, and the persecutor of all who opposed its institutions. His natural arrogance, fortified by such unexceptionable testimony, soared to a height which nothing but royalty or a disordered understanding has ever attained; and he who in Scotland had found himself curbed in every attempt to interfere with the religious institutions of his own narrow realm, now thought himself entitled to dictate the ecclesiastical policy of foreign nations. Having entered into a dispute with

CHAP. I.

4 Spottiswoode. 5 Fuller. 6 Kennet, p. 665. 7 February, 1604.

BOOK II.

Vorstius, professor of theology in a Dutch university, and finding his adversary insensible to the weight of his arguments, he resolved to make him feel at least the weight and the length of his arm; and roused to a degree of energy and haughtiness to which no other foreign concernment was ever able to excite him, he remonstrated so vigorously with the states of Holland, that to put an end to his clamour, they submitted to the mean injustice of deposing and banishing the professor. With this sacrifice to his insulted logic, James was forced to be contented, though he had endeavoured to rouse his republican allies to more royal revenge, by informing them "that as to the *burning* of Vorstius for his blasphemies and atheism, he left them to their own christian wisdom: but surely never heretic better deserved the flames." He did not fail to reinforce this charitable counsel by his own example; and in the course of his reign burned at the stake two persons who were so unhappy as to entertain the Arian heresy[8], and an unfortunate lunatic who mistook himself for the Deity, and whose frenzy was thus cruelly treated by a much more dangerous and deliberate invader of the divine attributes. If James had not been restrained by the growing political ascendancy of the puritans, there would probably have been more of such executions in England. He did, however, as much as he dared; and finding in Bancroft a fit successor to Whitgift, he made with his assistance so vigorous a commencement, that in the second year of his reign three hundred puritan ministers were deprived, imprisoned, or banished. To prevent the communication of light from abroad, the importation of any books hostile to the restraints imposed by the

[8] One of these victims is termed by Fuller, in his Church History (B. x. § 4), "Our English Vorstius." The king, in imitation of Henry the Eighth's generosity to Lambert, held a personal dispute with him, and concluded it by delivering him to the hands of the executioner.

laws of the realm or the king's proclamations, was forbidden under the severest penalties; to prevent its rise and repress its spread at home, no books were suffered to be printed in England without the consent of a committee of bishops or their deputies; and arbitrary jurisdictions for the trial of ecclesiastical offences were multiplied and extended. Persons suspected of entertaining puritan sentiments, even though they adhered to the church, were subjected to fine and imprisonment for barely repeating to their families, in the evening, the substance of the discourses they had heard at church during the day, under the pretence that this constituted the crime of irregular preaching. Some of the puritans having conceived the design of withdrawing to Virginia, where they hoped that distance would at least mitigate the violence of oppression, a small number of them proceeded to carry their purpose into effect; and a larger body were preparing to follow, when Bancroft, apprised of their intention, obtained a proclamation from the king, commanding that none of his subjects should settle in Virginia without an express licence under the great seal. Thus harassed and oppressed in England, and deprived of a refuge in Virginia, the puritans began to retire in considerable numbers to the protestant states of the continent; and the hopes of the still greater and increasing numbers who remained at home were fixed on the House of Commons. In this assembly the puritan ascendancy at length became so manifest, that in spite of the king's proclamations for encouraging mirthful games on Sunday, a bill was introduced for compelling a more strict and solemn observance of the day, to which it gave the denomination of the sabbath; and when one member objected to this as a puritan appellation, and ventured to justify dancing by a gay misapplication of some passages in scripture,

1620.

BOOK II. 1620.

he was, on the suggestion of Mr. Pym, expelled the house for his profanity[9]. But we have now reached the period at which we must forsake the main stream of the history of the puritans, to follow the fortunes of that illustrious branch which was destined to visit and ennoble the deserts of America. In reviewing the strange succession of events which we have beheld, and the various impressions they have produced on our minds, it may perhaps occur to some as a humiliating consideration, that the crimes and follies, the cruelties and weaknesses which would excite no other sentiments but those of horror, grief, or pity, in an angelic beholder, are capable of presenting themselves in such an aspect to less purified eyes, as to excite the splenetic mirth even of those whose nature is degraded by the odious or absurd display.

A congregation of Independents retire to Holland.

In the year 1610, a congregation of Brownists, driven by royal and ecclesiastical tyranny from their native land, had removed to Leyden, where they were permitted to establish themselves in peace under the ministry of their pastor, John Robinson[1]. This excellent person was the father of the Independents, having been the first who realized a middle course between the path of Brownism and the Presbyterian system; to one or other of which the views and desires of the Puritans were now generally tending. The sentiments which he entertained when he first quitted his country, bore the impress of the persecution under which they had been formed; and when he began his ministry at Leyden he was a rigid Brownist: but after he had seen more of the world, and been enabled to converse in a friendly manner with learned and good men of different

[9] K. James' Works, p. 355. Journals of the House of Commons. 15, 16 February, 1620. 28 May, 1621. Rymer, xvii. 522. 616. Neal, i. 70—2. Stith's Virginia, p. 76.

[1] Cardinal Bentivoglio, in his Account of the United Provinces, describes them as *a body of English heretics called puritans, who had resorted to Holland for purposes of commerce.*

ecclesiastical denominations, he began to entertain a more charitable opinion of those minor differences, which he plainly perceived might subsist, without injury to the essentials of religion, and without violating charity, or inciting persecution. Though he always maintained the lawfulness and expediency of separating from those established protestant churches among which he lived, he willingly allowed them the character of true churches; esteemed it lawful to communicate with them in preaching and prayer, though not in the sacraments and discipline; and freely admitted their members to partake the sacrament with his congregation. He maintained that each particular church, or society of Christians, was vested with the power of choosing its own officers, administering the gospel ordinances, and exercising over its own members every necessary act of discipline and authority; and, consequently, that it was completely independent of all classes, synods, convocations, and councils. He admitted the expediency of synods and councils for the reconciling of differences among churches, and the tendering of friendly advice to them; but denied their competence to exercise any act of jurisdiction, or authoritatively to impose any articles or canons of doctrine. These sentiments Mr. Robinson recommended to esteem by exemplifying, in his life and demeanour, the fruits of that spirit by whose teaching they were communicated; by a character, in which the most eminent faculties, and the highest attainments, were absorbed by the predominating power of a solemn, affectionate piety[2].

CHAP. II. 1620.

Enjoying the counsel and direction of such a pastor, and blessed with an adequate sense of his value, the English congregation remained for ten

[2] Mather's Ecclesiastical Hist. of New England, B. I. Cap. II. § i. Neal, i. 72—4. Robinson's Apology for the Brownists, p. 7. 11. 35.

BOOK II.

1620.

years at Leyden, in harmony with each other, and at peace with their neighbours. But, at the end of that period, the same pious views that had prompted their original departure from England incited them to undertake a more distant migration. They beheld with deep concern the loose profane manners that prevailed very generally around them, and, in particular, the utter neglect among the Dutch of a reverential observance of Sunday; and they reflected with apprehension on the danger to which their children were exposed from the natural contagion manners so unfavourable to serious piety: their of country, too, still retained a hold on their affections; and they were loth to see their posterity melted into the Dutch population. The fewness of their numbers, and the difference of language, forbade the hope of propagating, in Holland, the principles which, with so much suffering and hazard, they had hitherto maintained; and the state of the English government extinguished every hope of toleration in their native land. In these circumstances, it occurred to them that they might combine the indulgence of their patriotic attachment with the propagation of their religious principles, by establishing themselves in some distant quarter of the English dominions; and, after many days of earnest supplication for the counsel and direction of Heaven, they unanimously determined to transport themselves and their families to the territory of America. It was resolved that a part of the congregation should go out before the rest, to prepare a settlement for the whole; and that the main body should, till then, remain behind at Leyden with their pastor. In choosing the particular scene of their establishment, they hesitated, for some time, between the territory of Guiana, of which Sir Walter Raleigh had published a most dazzling and fanciful description, and the province

They resolve to settle in America.

of Virginia, to which they latterly gave the preference: but the hand of Providence was exerted no less in the general direction of their counsels, than in the control of their particular proceedings, and their residence was ordained to be established in New England. CHAP. I. 1620.

Through the medium of agents, whom they deputed to solicit the interposition of the proper authorities, they represented to the English government, "that they were well weaned from the delicate milk of their mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land: that they were knit together in a strict and sacred bond, by virtue of which they held themselves bound to take care of the good of each other, and of the whole: that it was not with them as with other men, whom small things could discourage, or small discontent cause to wish themselves at home again." The king, wavering between his desire to promote the colonization of America, and his reluctance to suffer the consciences of any portion of his subjects to be emancipated from his control, refused to grant them a charter assuring the free exercise of their religion, but promised to connive at their practices, and on no account to molest them. They were forced to accept this precarious security; but relied with more reason on their distance from the Spiritual Courts of England, and from the eye and arm of their persecuting sovereign. Having procured from the Virginia Company a grant of a tract of land, lying, as was supposed, within the limits of its patent, several of the congregation sold their estates, and with the money equipped two vessels, in which a hundred and twenty of their number were appointed to embark from an English port for America[3]. Negotiation with the king.

[3] Mather, B. i. Cap. i. § 2, 3. Neal, i. 74—8. Hutchinson's Hist. of Massachusetts Bay, i. p. 3, 4. Hazard, i. p. 363.

BOOK II.

1620.

All things being ready for the departure of this detachment of the congregation from Delft haven, where they took leave of their friends, for the English port of embarkation, Mr. Robinson held a day of solemn worship with his people, to implore a blessing upon the hazardous enterprise. He preached a sermon to them from Ezra viii. 21 :—*I proclaimed a fast there at the river Ahava, that we might afflict our souls before God, to seek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance.* He concluded his discourse with the following noble exhortation, to which, with all its intrinsic merits, our sentiments will fail to do justice, if we neglect to remember, that such a spirit of Christian liberty as it breathes was then hardly known in the world. "Brethren," said he, "we are now quickly to part from one another, and whether I may ever live to see your faces on earth any more, the God of heaven only knows; but whether the Lord has appointed that or no, I charge you, before God and his blessed angels, that you follow me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ.

"If God reveal any thing to you, by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it as ever you were to receive any truth by my ministry; for I am verily persuaded, I am very confident, the Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word. For my part, I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed churches, who are come to a period in religion, and will go at present no farther than the instruments of their reformation. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw; whatever part of his will our good God has revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it; and the Calvinists, you see, stick fast where they were left by that great man of God, who yet saw not all things.

CHAP. II. 1620.

"This is a misery much to be lamented; for though they were burning and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God; but, were they now living, would be as willing to embrace farther light, as that which they first received. I beseech you remember it, 'tis an article of your church covenant, *that you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written word of God.* Remember *that*, and every other article of your sacred covenant. But I must herewithal exhort you to take heed what you receive as truth. Examine it, consider it, and compare it with other scriptures of truth before you receive it; for 'tis not possible the christian world should come so lately out of antichristian darkness, and that perfection of knowledge should break forth at once.

"I must also advise you to abandon, avoid, and shake off the name of Brownist; 'tis a mere nickname, and a brand for the making religion, and the professors of it, odious to the Christian world." Having said thus much, he exchanged with them embraces and affectionate farewells; and kneeling down with them all on the sea shore, commended them, in a fervent prayer, to the blessing and protection of Heaven[4]. Such were the men, nobler than all his tribe, whom the English monarch cast out of his dominions; and such were the scenes of wisdom and piety, which the control of Providence elicited from the folly, insolence, and bigotry, of a tyrant.

They arrive in Massachusetts—

The emigrants, after having been once driven back by a storm, and lost one of their vessels, finally embarked from Plymouth, in the other, on the sixth of September, and, after a long and dangerous voyage, reached the coast of America. Hudson's river had

9th Nov.

[4] Mather, B. i. Cap. iii. § 7. Hazard, i. 362.

BOOK II.

1620.

been the place of their destination, and its banks the scene of their intended settlement: but the Dutch, who conceived that a preferable right to this territory accrued to them from its discovery by Captain Hudson, had maintained there, for some years, a small commercial establishment, and were actually projecting a scheme of more extensive occupation, which they were neither disposed to forego, nor yet prepared to defend. In order to defeat the design of the English emigrants, they bribed the captain of their vessel, who was a Dutchman, to carry them so far towards the north, that the first land which they made was Cape Cod, a region, not only beyond the precincts of their grant, but beyond the territories of the company from which the grant was derived. But the lateness of the season, and the sickliness occasioned by the hardships of a long voyage, compelled the adventurers to settle on the soil to which their destiny had conducted them, and which seemed to have been expressly prepared and evacuated for their reception by a pestilential disease, which, in the former year, had swept away nine-tenths of its savage and idolatrous population. After exploring the coast, they chose for their station a place now belonging to the province of Massachussetts bay, to which they gave the name of New Plymouth, either as a testimony of respect to the company within whose jurisdiction they found themselves situated, or in commemoration of the city with which their last recollections of England were associated. To remedy, in some measure, their defect of formal title, they composed and subscribed an instrument declaratory of the purpose with which they had come to America, recognising the authority of the English crown, and expressing their own combination into a civil body politic, and their determination to enact all just and

and found New Plymouth.

necessary laws, and honour them by a due obedience[5]. Here, then, remote from the scenes and paths of human grandeur, these men embarked on a career of life, which, if the true dignity of actions be derived from the motives that prompt them, the principles they express, and the ends they contemplate, I cannot term otherwise than elevated and admirable. 1620.

Hardships—

The speedy approach and intense severity of their first winter in America painfully convinced the settlers that a more unfavourable season of the year could not have been selected for the formation of their colony; and that the slender stores with which they were provided were far short of what was requisite to comfortable subsistence, and constituted a very inadequate preparation to meet the rigour of the climate. Their exertions to provide themselves with suitable dwellings were obstructed, for some time, by the hostile attacks of some of the neighbouring Indians, who had not forgotten the provocation they had received from Captain Hunt; and the colonists had scarcely succeeded in repulsing them, when disease, occasioned by scarcity of provisions, and the increasing horrors of the season afflicted them with a calamity, perhaps less dangerous to their virtue, but more destructive to their strength and numbers, than the perils of war. More than one half of their number, including John Carver, their first governor, perished of hunger or disease before the return of spring; and, during the whole of the winter, but few were capable of providing for themselves, or rendering assistance to the rest: but hope and virtue survived, and, rising into greater vigour beneath

and virtue of the colonists.

[5] Mather, B. i. Cap. ii. § 5—8. Neal, i. 80—82. 87. Oldmixon, i. 29. Hutchinson, ii. Append. 452. The fraud, by which the Dutch had contrived to divert these emigrants from Hudson's river, was discovered and stated in a memorial, which was published in England before the close of this year (1620). Prince's New England Chronology, p. 83.

BOOK II.

1621.

the pressure of accumulated suffering, surmounted and ennobled every calamity. Those who retained their strength became the servants of the weak, the sick, and the dying; and none distinguished himself more in this honourable duty than Mr. Carver the governor. He was a gentleman of large estate, but larger heart; he had spent his whole fortune on this project; and now, willingly contributing his life to its accomplishment, he exhausted a feeble body in laboriously discharging the meanest offices of kindness and service to the sick. When the distress of the colony was at its height, the approach of a powerful Indian chief seemed to portend the utter destruction of the settlers; but, happily, in the train of this personage, was the ancient guest and friend of the English, Squanto, who eagerly and successfully laboured to mediate a good understanding between them and his countrymen. He afterwards cancelled the merit of this useful service, and endeavoured to magnify his own importance by fabricating charges of plots and conspiracies against some of the neighbouring tribes, while at the same time he kept these tribes in terror, by secret information that the English were in possession of a cask filled with the plague, which only his influence prevented them from setting abroach for the destruction of the Indians. But, before he resorted to this mischievous policy, the colonists had become independent of his services. Some of the neighbouring tribes, from time to time, made alarming demonstrations of hostility; but they were at length completely overawed by the courage and resolution of Captain Miles Standish, a gallant and skilful officer, who, with a handful of men, was always ready to encounter their greatest force, and anticipate their most rapid movements[6].

[6] Mather, Neal. Peter Martyr declares that the hardships endured by the Spaniards in South America were such as none but Spaniards could have sup-

CHAP. I.

1621.

With the arrival of summer the health of the colonists was restored, and their numbers continued to be reinforced from time to time, by successive emigrations of their friends from Europe. But these additions fell far short of their expectations; and of the main reinforcement which they had looked for from the accession of the remainder of the congregation at Leyden, they were utterly disappointed. The unexpected death of Mr. Robinson deprived his people at Leyden of the only leader whose animating counsels could have overcome the timidity inspired by the accounts of the distresses sustained by their friends in New England; and, accordingly, upon that event the greater part of those who had remained behind at Leyden now retired to join the other English exiles at Amsterdam, and very few had the courage to proceed to New Plymouth. This small colony, however, had evinced a hardy virtue that showed it was formed for endurance; and, having surmounted its first misfortunes, continued to thrive in the cultivation of piety, and the enjoyment of liberty of conscience and political freedom. A noble attachment was formed to the soil which had been earned with so much virtue, and to the society whose continuance attested so manly a contest and so signal a victory over every variety of ill. While they demonstrated a proper respect for the claims of the original inhabitants of the country, by purchasing from them the territory over which their settlement extended, they neglected no preparation to defend by force what they had acquired with justice; and, alarmed by the tidings of the massacre of their countrymen in Virginia, they erected a timber fort, and adopted other prudent precautions for their defence. This purchase from

ported. But the hardships sustained by the first colonists of Plymouth appear to have exceeded them both in duration and intensity. See Hutchinson, ii. Append. 477.

BOOK II.

1621—4.

savages, who rather occasionally traversed than continually occupied the territory, is perhaps the first instance on record of the full prevalence of the principles of justice in a treaty between a civilized and a barbarous people. The constitution of their church was the same with that which had been established at Leyden, and their system of civil government was founded on those ideas of the natural equality among men to which their ecclesiastical policy, so long the main object of their concern, had habituated their minds. The supreme legislative body was composed of all the freemen who were members of the church, and it was not until the year 1639 that they established a house of representatives. The executive power was committed to a governor and council annually elected by the members of the legislative assembly. Their jurisprudence was founded on the laws of England, with some diversity, however, in the scale of punishments, which was more nearly approximated to the Mosaic institutions. Considering the protection of morals more important than the preservation of wealth, they punished fornication with flogging, and adultery with death, while on forgery they inflicted only a moderate fine. The clearing and cultivation of the ground, fishing, and the curing of fish for exportation, formed the occupation of the colonists. The peculiarity of their situation naturally led them, like the Virginians, for some time, to throw all their property into a common stock, and, like members of one family, to carry on every work of industry by their joint labour for the public behoof. But the religious zeal which enforced this self-denying policy was unable to overcome the difficulties which must always attend it, and which are continually revived and augmented in a society deriving its increase not so much from its own internal growth as from the confluence of strangers. About three

Their civil institutions—

community of property.

years after the foundation of New Plymouth, it was judged proper to introduce separation of possessions, though the full right of separate property was not admitted till a much later period; and even that change is represented as having produced a great and manifest increase of the industry of the people [7]. The slow increase which, for a considerable period of time, the numbers of the colonists evinced, has been ascribed to the prolonged operation of this system of equality; but it seems more likely that the slowness of the increase (occasioned by the poverty of the soil and the tidings of the hardships attending a settlement in New England) was the cause of the retardation of the complete establishment of the right of private property. In the first society of men collected by the bond of christianity, and additionally united by persecution, we find an attempt made to abolish individual property; and, from the apostolic direction, that *he who would not work should not eat;* we may conclude that the disadvantage which the operation of this principle is exposed to in a society deriving its increase from the continual confluence of strangers of dissimilar characters, was pretty early experienced. In Paraguay, the Jesuits formed a settlement where this peculiar disadvantage was not experienced, and which affords the only instance of the introduction and prolonged subsistence of a state of equality in a numerous society. But there the great fundamental difficulty was rather evaded than encountered by a system of tuition adapted, with exquisite skill, to confound all diversities of talent and disposition among the natives, in an unbounded and degrading dependence on their Jesuitical instructors.

CHAP. I. 1621—4.

After having continued for some years without a patent for their occupation, the colonists, whose num- 1624.

[7] Mather, B. i. cap. iii. Neal, i. 95. 103. 110. Chalmers, p. 87.

BOOK II.

1624—6.

bers now amounted to a hundred and eighty, employed one Pierce as their agent in England, to solicit a grant of this nature from the English government and the grand council of Plymouth—a new corporation by which James, in the year 1620, had superseded the original Plymouth company, and to which he had granted all the territory lying within the fortieth and forty-eighth degrees of northern latitude. This corporate body continued to subsist for a considerable time, notwithstanding a vote of the House of Commons, in the year after its creation, declaring its privileges a grievance, and its patent void. Pierce procured a charter from the council, and caused it to be framed in his own name, with the appropriation of large territories and privileges to himself and his family: but, having embarked with a numerous body of associates, whom he had collected in England, to accompany him, and assist in the enforcement of his designs, his vessel was shipwrecked, and Pierce himself so dismayed with the disastrous issue of his injustice, that he confessed what he had done, and resigned his patent. The colonists, informed of his treachery, sent over Mr. Winslow, one of their own number, to resume the solicitation for a charter. He appears not to have been able to procure a patent from the crown, but he obtained, after long delay, a grant of land and charter of privileges from the council. It was directed[8] to William Bradford, the existing governor, and the immunities it conferred were appropriated to him, his heirs, associates, and assignees; but Mr. Bradford willingly surrendered all that was personal in the grant, and associated the general court of the freemen to all the privileges it conferred[9]. By this grant of the grand council of

[8] January, 1630.

[9] Hazard's Historical Collections, p. 298. 468. Chalmers, p. 83. Trumbull's History of Connecticut, i. Append. 546, &c.

Plymouth, the colonists were authorised to choose a governor, council, and general court, for the enacting and executing all laws which should be judged necessary for the public good. The colonial historians have mistaken this grant for a patent from the crown. But no such patent was ever issued; and the settlement of New Plymouth was never incorporated into a body politic, but remained a subordinate and voluntary association until it was united to its more powerful neighbour the colony of Massachusetts Bay. Both before and after the reception of this charter, the colonists were aware of the doubts that might be entertained of the validity of the acts of government which they exercised. Perhaps this defect was not altogether unfavourable to the interests and happiness of the settlers, and may have contributed to the moderate principles and conciliatory strain by which their administration was honourably distinguished from that which afterwards unfortunately prevailed among their neighbours in New England. But the soil around New Plymouth was so meagre, and the supplies they received from Europe so scanty and infrequent, that in the tenth year of their colonial existence their numbers did not exceed three hundred [1]. But their exertions were not destitute of great and important consequences. They held up to the view of the oppressed puritans in the parent state, a scene where persecuted virtue might retire to, and where only the hardy virtue that could withstand persecution seemed fated to obtain a permanent establishment. At the expense of the noblest sacrifices and most undaunted efforts, this handful of men laid the foundations of New England. A few years after their first establishment at Plymouth, a messenger arrived at this settlement from the governor of the Dutch plantation on Hudson's river, with

[1] Neal, i. 105. 108. Chalmers, p. 97. See Note V.

BOOK II. 1624—6.

letters congratulating the English on their prosperous and commendable enterprise, tendering the good will and friendly services of the Dutch, and proposing a commercial intercourse between the two settlements. The governor and council of Plymouth returned a courteous answer to this communication, expressing a thankful sense of the kindness which they had received in the native country of the Dutch, and a grateful acceptance of the proffered friendship[2]. Nothing farther seems to have ensued from this overture than a series of small commercial dealings, and an occasional interchange of similar civilities, which, but a few years after, gave place to the most inveterate jealousy, and a continual reciprocation of complaints between the Dutch and the English colonists.

Various attempts had been made during this interval to emulate the successful establishment of New Plymouth; but they had all failed from inability to emulate the virtues from which the success of this colony was derived. In the year 1622, a rival colony was planted in New England by one Weston and a troop of disorderly adventurers, who, in spite of the friendly assistance of the settlers at New Plymouth, quickly sunk into such helplessness that some of them condescended to become servants to the Indians, some perished of hunger, others turned robbers, and by their depredations involved both themselves and the colonists of New Plymouth in hostilities with the natives, and the rest were glad to find their way back to England. In the following year an attempt of greater importance was made under the patronage of the grand council of Plymouth, which bestowed on Captain Gorges, the leader of the expedition, the title of governor-general of the whole country, with an ample endowment of arbitrary power, and on a

[2] Collections of the Massachusett's Historical Society, iii. 51, 52. Neal, i. 114.

clergyman whom he had brought with him, the office of bishop and superintendent of all the churches. But New England was not in such a condition that an establishment of this description could take root in it; and the governor and his bishop, deserting their charge, made haste to return to a climate more congenial to the growth of temporal dominion and ecclesiastical dignity. Of their followers, some retired to Virginia, and others returned to England[3]. At a later period a similar undertaking, conducted by Captain Wollaston, was attended with a repetition of the same disastrous issue[4]. Yet, all these unsuccessful plantations were attempted on land more fertile, and at a situation more commodious, than the settlers at New Plymouth enjoyed. The situation which they pitched upon was that of Massachusetts Bay, where, a few years after, a colony, which was formed on the same principles that had founded New Plymouth, and whose origin I now proceed to relate, afforded the second example of a successful establishment in New England.

CHAP. I. 1624—6. 1626.

The reign of Charles the First was destined to produce the consummation and the retribution of royal and ecclesiastical tyranny. Charles committed the government of the church to men who openly

Increase of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny in England.

[3] The most important act of Captain Gorges' administration that has been transmitted to us, is one which affords an explanation of a passage in Hudibras, where the New Englanders are accused of hanging an innocent, but bedrid, weaver, instead of a guilty, but useful, cobbler.—

"That sinners may supply the place
Of suffering saints, is a plain case.
Our brethren of New England use
Choice malefactors to excuse,
And hang the guiltless in their stead,
Of whom the churches have less need—
As lately happened. In a town
There lived a cobbler," &c. Hudibras, Canto ii.

Some of Gorges' people had committed depredations on the Indians, who insisted that the ringleader should be put to death. Gorges satisfied and deceived them by hanging up either a flying man or a dead body. Hutchinson, i. p. 6. Butler's witty malice, studious to defame the puritans, has rescued from oblivion an act of which the whole merit or demerit is exclusively due to his own party.

[4] Neal, i. 95. 97. 102. 104. 111—113.

BOOK II.

professed the most arbitrary principles, and whose inclinations carried them much more strongly to enforce
1626. an approximation to the church of Rome, than to promote an agreement among the professors of the protestant faith. Abbot, the archbishop of Canterbury, being restrained by the moderation of his principles and the mildness of his temper from lending his instrumentality to the designs of the court, was treated with harshness, and, at length, suspended
1627. from his office[5], of which the functions were committed to a board of prelates, of whom the most eminent was Laud, who afterwards succeeded to the primacy. From this period, both in the civil and ecclesiastical administration of the realm, a system of deliberate and insolent invasion of whatever was most valued by freemen, or most revered by protestants, was pursued with stubborn pride and folly, and enforced by cruelties that at length exhausted the patience of mankind. To the historian of England the political abuses that distinguished this period will probably appear the most interesting features in its history; and, doubtless, they contributed at least as powerfully as any other cause to the production of the great convulsions that ensued. But, as it was the ecclesiastical administration that mainly contributed to the peopling of America, it is this branch of the English history that chiefly merits our attention, in investigating the sources of the colonization of New England.

Not only were the ancient ceremonies, which long oppression had rendered so obnoxious, enforced with

[5] The pretext commonly assigned for Abbot's disgrace is, that, in shooting at a deer with a cross-bow, he had accidentally killed a man. But he had been solemnly acquitted of this charge, and declared exempt from all its consequences, long before he was sequestrated from ecclesiastical functions; and the real causes of his temporal disgrace seem to have been, that he opposed the persecution of the puritans, that he refused to license a sermon that had been preached in support of the king's right to tax the people without the intervention of parliament, and that he could not be prevailed with to countenance the infamous proceedings for the divorce of the countess of Essex. Weldon's Court and Character of King James. Fuller's Worthies.

additional rigour on the increasing numbers of the puritans, but new and more offensive rites were introduced into the church. A design seems to have been formed of enabling the church of England to vie with the Romish see in the splendour of its pageantry, the superstitious ceremonial of its worship, and the power of its hierarchy. Laud, indeed, boasted that he had refused the offer of a cardinal's hat from Rome; but the offer was justly considered a much more significant circumstance than the refusal; and, having already assumed to himself the papal title of *His Holiness*, which he substituted in place of *His Grace*, his style would have been lowered instead of elevated by the Romish promotion which he rejected. The communion table was converted into an altar, and all persons commanded to bow to it on entering the church. All the week-day lectures, and all afternoon sermons on Sunday, were abolished, and, instead of them, games and sports were permitted to all the people, "*excepting known recusants*," who were thus with matchless absurdity debarred, as a punishment, from practices which they regarded with the utmost detestation. Every minister was commanded to read the royal proclamation of games and sports from his pulpit, under the pain of deprivation. This ordinance, like all the other novelties, was productive of the greater discontent and disturbance, from the extent to which puritan sentiments had made their way into the church, and the number of puritan ministers within the establishment whom habit had taught to fluctuate between the performance and the evasion of the ancient obnoxious canons, and trained to submit, without at all reconciling to the burden. Nothing could be more ill timed than an aggravation of the load under which these men were labouring: it reduced many to despair, provoked others to the most vehement indigna-

CHAP. I. 1627.

BOOK II. 1627.

tion, and deprived the church of a numerous body of her most attached and most popular ministers. Nor were these the only measures that were calculated to excite discontents within as well as without the establishment. Three-fourths of the English clergy were Calvinists; but Laud and the ruling prelates being Arminians, they caused a royal proclamation to be issued against the preaching of the Calvinistic tenets; and while the Arminian pulpits resounded with the sharpest invectives against them, a single sentence that could be construed into their defence exposed the preacher to the pains of contempt of the king's authority.

In the reign of Elizabeth, the churchmen had been eager to shift from themselves upon the courts of common law as much as possible of the odium of enforcing the ecclesiastical statutes. But Laud[6] and his associates, inaccessible to fear, remorse, or shame, courted the office of persecution, and in the court of commission exercised such arbitrary power, and committed such enormous cruelty, as procured to that odious tribunal the name of *the protestant inquisition*. Fines, imprisonment, banishment, the pillory, were among the most lenient of the punishments inflicted by this tribunal. Its victims were frequently condemned to have their flesh torn from their bodies by

[6] It is impossible to read the speeches of this prelate on the trials of the puritans without astonishment at the strange medley of which his mind was composed. Learning and elegance are commixed with vulgar railing and obscene ribaldry; and the most beautiful delineations of Christian mildness and mercy, with the proposition or approbation of vindictive cruelties that would have disgraced an American savage. The light within him was darkness; and his acquaintance with the theory of religion seemed only to give him assurance of his safety and rectitude in practically disregarding it. The sentences proposed by the bishops in the Star Chamber were always severer than the suggestions of the lay judges. The bishops, no doubt, were frequently exasperated by the sarcasms of their victims. Bastwick, before his trial, wrote a letter to Laud humbly petitioning for a pittance from the archiepiscopal treasure, to support him in prison, and concluding thus:—"How thou farest in thy palace, demandeth, *in limbo patrum*, John Bastwick." One of the lay judges in the Star Chamber, on one occasion, addressed a puritan on his trial with a text of which the bishops probably did not admire the application—"Be not righteous over much; neither make thyself over wise: why shouldst thou destroy thyself?" See Howell's State Trials, Vol. iii. Nos. 134, 135, 142, 145, &c.

CHAP. I.

1627.

the lash of the executioner, their nostrils slit, and their ears cut off, and in this condition exhibited to the people as monuments of what was termed the justice of their sovereign and the zeal of the prelates. Of the extent as well as the severity to which this arbitrary system was pushed, some notion may be formed from the accounts that have been transmitted to us of the proceedings within the diocese of Norwich alone. In the articles of impeachment afterwards exhibited against Bishop Wren, it is stated, that during his possession of that diocese, which lasted only for two years and a half, fifty ministers were deprived for not complying with the innovations, and three thousand of the laity compelled to abandon the kingdom [7]. In perfect harmony with the ecclesiastical, was the civil policy of Charles's administration. Arbitrary impositions superseded the functions of parliament: the patents of judicial office had their tenure altered from the good behaviour of the judges to the good pleasure of the king; every organ of liberty was suspended or perverted; and the kingdom at length subjected to the exclusive dominion of a stern and uncontrolled prerogative. Insult was employed, as if purposely to stimulate the sensibility which injuries might not have sufficiently excited. A clergyman having maintained in a sermon before the king that his majesty's simple requisition of money from his subjects, obliged them to comply with it "under pain of eternal damnation;" Charles at first observed that he owed the man no thanks for giving him his due; but a censure of the House of Commons having followed the discourse, the preacher was forthwith accounted a proper object of royal

[7] Neal, i. 117—121. These bishops, said a member of the Long Parliament, "placed the excellency of priesthood in worldly pomp and greatness, and gave the glory of the invisible God to pictures, images, and altars; therefore God gave them up to vile affections, to be implacable, unmerciful, and without natural affection." Howell's State Trials, iv. 27.

BOOK II. 1662.

favour, and promoted, first to a valuable living, and afterwards to a bishoprick.[8] A system of such diffusive and exasperating hostility waged by the government against the people, wanted only a sufficient duration to provoke from universal rage a vindictive retribution, the more to be dreaded from the patience with which the heavy arrear of injury had been endured and accumulated. But before the system of oppression had time to mature the growing discontents, and to produce extremities so perilous to the virtue of all who are called to abide them; it was destined to give occasion to efforts of nobler energy and purer virtue; and much good was yet to be educed out of all this scene of evil, and great and happy consequences were yet to be effected, by the dominion of Providence over the passions of men.

Project of a new colony in Massachusetts.

The severities exercised on the puritans in England, and the gradual extinction of the hopes they had so long entertained of a mitigation of ecclesiastical rigour, had for some time directed their thoughts to that distant territory in which their brethren at New Plymouth had achieved a secure establishment and obtained the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. In the last year of James's reign, a few non-conformist families had removed to New England and taken possession of a corner of Massachusetts Bay; but being disappointed in the hope they had entertained of the accession of numbers sufficient to found a permanent society, they were on the point of returning to England, when they received the agreeable intelligence of the approach of a numerous and powerful reinforcement. Mr. White, a non-conformist minister at Dorchester, had projected a new settlement at Massachusetts Bay, and by his zeal and activity he succeeded in forming

8 Sanderson's Life of Charles the First. Rushworth's Hist. Collect. i. 427. 612. 647.

an association of a number of the gentry in his neighbourhood who had imbibed the puritan sentiments, for the purpose of conducting a colony to that region. The views and feelings that actuated the leaders of this enterprise were committed to writing, and circulated among their friends under the title of *General Considerations for the Plantation of New England*. The framers of this remarkable and characteristic document, began by adverting to the progress of the Jesuit establishments in South America, and to the duty and advantage of counteracting their influence by the propagation of the gospel in that quarter of the world. They observed that all the other churches of Europe had been brought under desolations; that the same fate seemed to impend over the church of England; and that it might reasonably be supposed that God had provided this unoccupied territory as a land of refuge for many whom he purposed to save from the general destruction. England, they alleged, grew weary of her inhabitants; insomuch that man, which is the most precious of all creatures, was there more vile and base than the earth he trod upon; and children and friends (if unwealthy) were accounted a burdensome incumbrance, instead of being hailed as the choicest earthly blessings. A taste for expensive living, they added, prevailed so strongly, and the means of indulging it had become so exclusively the object of men's desires, that all arts and trades were tainted by sordid maxims and deceitful practices; and the seminaries of learning abounded with so many spectacles and temptations of dissolute irregularity, that vice was there more effectually communicated by example, than knowledge or virtue were imparted by precept. "The whole earth," they proclaimed, "is the Lord's garden, and he hath given it to the sons of Adam to be tilled and improved by them:

CHAP. I. 1627.

BOOK II. 1627. Why, then, should any stand starving here for places of habitation, and, in the mean time, suffer whole countries, as profitable for the use of man, to lie waste, without any improvement?" They concluded by adverting to the situation of the colony of New Plymouth, and strongly enforced the duty of supporting the infant church which had there been so happily planted. Actuated by such views, these magnanimous projectors purchased from the council of Plymouth all the territory extending in length from three miles north of the river Merrimack to three miles south of Charles river, and, in breadth, from the Atlantic to the Southern Ocean. Their acts were as vigorous as their designs were elevated. As the precursors of the main body of emigrants whom it was intended to transport, a small body of planters and servants were despatched under Mr. 1628. Endicot, one of the leading projectors; who, arriving safely in Massachusetts, were cordially greeted and kindly assisted by the colonists of New Plymouth, Salem built. and laid the foundations of a town, which they denominated Salem, from a Hebrew word that signifies Peace [9].

But zealous as these projectors were to accomplish their favourite purpose, they very soon perceived their total inability to maintain effectual possession of such an extensive territory, without the aid of more opulent coadjutors. Of these, by the influence and activity of Mr. White, they obtained a sufficient number in London, among the commercial men who openly professed, or secretly favoured, the tenets of the puritans. These auxiliaries brought an accession of prudent precaution, as well as of pecuniary resources, to the conduct of the design; and, justly doubting the expediency of founding a colony on the basis of a grant from a private company of paten-

[9] Mather, B. i. cap. iv. sect. 3. 5. Neal, i. 122, 3.

tees, who might convey a right of property in the soil, but could not confer jurisdiction, or the privilege of governing the society which it was proposed to establish, they persuaded their associates to unite with them in an application to the crown for a royal charter. The readiness with which this application was granted, and the terms in which the charter was framed, are absolutely unaccountable, except on the supposition that Charles and his ecclesiastical counsellors were willing, at this time, to disencumber the church, in which they meditated such extensive innovations, of a body of men, from whom the most unbending opposition to their measures might be expected: a line of policy which appears perfectly credible; although, at a subsequent period, they endeavoured to counteract it, when they were sensible of the reflective influence exercised on the puritan body in England by the spread and predominance of their tenets in America. It seems impossible, on any other supposition, to account for the remarkable facts that, at the very time when this monarch was introducing despotic authority into the government of Virginia, he extended to a colony of puritans a constitution containing all the immunities of which the Virginians beheld themselves so unjustly deprived; and that, well aware of the purpose of the applicants to escape from the constitutions of the church of England, he granted them a charter containing ample commendation of the religious ends they had in view, without the imposition of a single ordinance respecting the constitution of their church government, or the forms and ceremonies of their worship: nay, so completely, in this instance, did he surrender the maxims of his colonial policy to the wishes of the projectors of a puritan colony, that, although he had recently declared, in a public proclamation, that a mercantile company was utterly unfit to administer

1629. 4th March. Charter of Massachusetts Bay obtained from Charles the First, by an association of puritans.

BOOK II.

1629.

the affairs of a remote colony; yet, on the present occasion, he scrupled not, in compliance with the wishes of the mercantile part of the adventurers, to commit the supreme direction of the colony to be planted in the province of Massachusetts Bay, to a corporation consisting chiefly of merchants resident in London. The new adventurers were incorporated as a body politic; and their right to the territory which they had purchased from the council of Plymouth being confirmed by the king, they were empowered to dispose of the lands, and to govern the people who should settle upon them. The first governor of the company and his council were named by the crown: the right of electing their successors was vested in the members of the corporation. The executive power was committed to the governor and a council of assistants: the legislative, to the body of proprietors, who might make and enforce statutes and orders for the good of the community, not inconsistent with the laws of England. They obtained the same temporary exemption that had been granted to the Virginian company from internal taxes, and from duties on goods exported or imported; and, notwithstanding their migration to America, they and their descendants were declared to be entitled to all the rights of natural-born subjects[1].

The meaning of this charter, with respect to the religious rights of the colonists of Massachusetts Bay, has given rise to a great deal of discussion. By the puritans, and the puritan writers of that age, it was universally regarded as bestowing on them the amplest liberty to regulate their worship by the dictates of their own conscience[2]. And this, I think, is manifestly its import. The granters were fully aware, and the grantees had neither the wish nor the power to

[1] Mather, B. i. cap. 4, sect. 3. Neal, i. 124. Hazard, p. 239.
[2] Mather, B. i. cap. 4, sect. 3. Neal's History of New England, i. 124. History of the Puritans, ii. 210.

conceal, that their object was to make a peaceable secession from a church which they could no longer conscientiously adhere to, and to establish for themselves, at Massachusetts Bay, an ecclesiastical constitution similar to that which was already established and maintained without molestation at New Plymouth. A silent acquiescence in such designs was all that could reasonably be expected from the king and his ministers; and when this emphatic silence on a point which it is quite ludicrous to suppose could have escaped the attention of either party, is coupled with such a ready departure from all the arbitrary principles which the king was preparing to enforce in every other branch of his domestic and colonial administration, it seems impossible to doubt that Charles was at this time not unwilling to make a temporary sacrifice of authority, in order to rid himself of these puritan petitioners, and that the interpretation which they gave to their charter was perfectly correct. And yet writers have not been wanting, whom enmity to the puritans has induced to explain this charter in a manner totally repugnant to every rule of legal or equitable construction. It is a maxim of law, and the dictate of common sense and universal equity, that, in all cases of doubtful construction, the presumption lies against that party whose office it was to speak, and who had the power to clear every ambiguity away. In defiance of this rule, these writers have insisted that the silence of the charter respecting the ecclesiastical constitution of the colony, implies the imposition on the colonists of every particular of the constitution of the church of England[3]. The

[3] Chalmers attempts to support this interpretation by citing from the charter the following clause,—"That the oath of supremacy shall be administered to every one who shall pass to the colony to inhabit there." Annals, p. 141. Dr. Robertson cites the same words for the same purpose. But there is no such clause in the charter. There is a clause, not *requiring*, but *empowering*, the governor, if he think proper, to administer the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. Chalmers makes himself exceedingly merry with the *enthusiasm* of the puritans,

BOOK II.

1629.

most eminent writer of this party has taken occasion from hence to reproach the colonists of Massachusetts Bay with having laid the foundations of their church establishment in fraud. "Without regard," says this distinguished author, "*to the sentiments of that monarch*, under the sanction of whose authority they settled in America, and from whom they derived right to act as a body politic, and in contempt of the laws of England, with which the charter required that none of their acts or ordinances should be inconsistent, they adopted in their infant church that form of policy which has since been distinguished by the name of independent." He accounts for the silence of the charter on a point which was unquestionably uppermost in the minds of both parties, by remarking, that "the king seems not to have foreseen, nor to have suspected, the secret intentions of those who projected the measure;" and he explains the conduct of the colonists, by pronouncing that they were "animated with a spirit of innovation in civil policy as well as in religion[4]." But, truly, it seems not a little unreasonable to make it matter of reproach to the puritans, who were driven by oppression from their native land, that they did not cross the Atlantic and settle in a savage desert for the purpose of cultivating a more perfect conformity to the sentiments of their oppressor. The provision in their charter, that the laws to be enacted by them should not be repugnant to the jurisprudence of England, could never be understood to imply any thing farther than a general conformity to the common law of England, suitable to the acknowledged dependence of the colony on the main body of the British dominions. The unsuspecting

who "considered the charter as sacred, because they supposed it to be derived from the providence of heaven" p. 139. Dr. Robertson is less charitable. He supposes the puritans to have wilfully misinterpreted the charter which he himself misrepresents.

[4] Robertson's History of America, B. x. p. 113. 115. 118.

CHAP. I.

1629.

ignorance, too, that is imputed to the king and his counsellors, appears perfectly incredible, when we consider that the example of New Plymouth, where a bare exemption from express restrictions had been followed by the establishment of the independent model, was fresh in their recollection; that it was avowed and notorious puritans who now applied for permission to proceed to the land where that constitution was established; and, above all, that, in their application to the king, they expressly desired leave to withdraw in peace from the bosom of a church to whose ordinances they could not conscientiously conform [5]. Whether the king and Laud were, or were not, aware of the intentions of the puritans, they must surely be allowed to be the best judges of what they themselves had intended to convey; and their acquiescence in the constitution which the colonists of Massachusetts Bay proceeded forthwith to establish, demonstrates, in the strongest manner, that they were aware they had no violation of the charter to complain of. When they afterwards became sensible that the progress of puritan establishments in New England increased the ferment which their measures were creating in the parent state, they interposed to check the intercourse between the two countries, but tacitly acknowledged that the system which they followed so rigidly in England was excluded by positive agreement from the colonial territory.

1st May.

Embarkation of the emigrants—

Soon after the power of the adventurers to establish a colony had been rendered complete by the royal charter, they equipped and despatched five ships for New England, containing three hundred and fifty emigrants, chiefly zealous puritans, accompanied by some eminent non-conformist ministers. The regrets which an eternal farewell to their native land was calculated to inspire, the distressing inconvenience of

[5] Mather, B. i. cap. 4, sect. 3.

BOOK II. 1629.

a long voyage to persons unaccustomed to the sea, and the formidable scene of toil and danger that confronted them in the barbarous land where so many preceding adventurers had found an untimely grave, seem to have vanished entirely from the minds of these men, sustained by the worth and dignity of the purpose which they had combined to pursue. Their hearts were knit to each other by community of generous design; and they experienced none of those jealousies which inevitably spring up in confederacies for ends merely selfish, among men unequally qualified to attain the object of their association. Behind them, indeed, was the land of their fathers; but it had long ceased to wear an aspect of parental kindness towards them, and, in forsaking it, they fled from the prisons and scaffolds to which its saints and patriots were daily consigned. Before them lay a vast and dreary wilderness; but they hoped to irradiate its gloom by kindling and preserving there the sacred fires of religion and liberty, which so many efforts were made to extinguish in the shrines of England, whence they carried their embers. They confidently hoped that the religious and political sentiments which had languished under such protracted persecution in Europe would now, at length, shine forth in their full lustre in America. Establishing an asylum where the professors of their sentiments might at all times find shelter, they justly expected to derive continual accessions to the vigour of their own virtue from the resolute character of men who might hereafter be prompted to forsake their native habitations, and be willing, like them, to recognise their country wherever they could find the lineaments of truth and liberty. They did not postpone the practice of piety till the conclusion of their voyage; but, occupied continually with the exercises of devotion, they caused the ocean which they traversed to resound with un-

wonted acclaim of praise and thanksgiving to its great Creator. The seamen, partaking their spirit, readily joined in all their religious exercises and ordinances, and expressed their belief that they had practised the first *sea-fasts* that had ever been kept in the world. After a prosperous voyage, the emigrants had the happiness of re-uniting themselves to their friends already established at Salem, under Mr. Endicot, who had been appointed deputy-governor of the colony[6].

1629.

arrival at Salem, June 24.

To the body of men thus collected together, the institution of a church appeared the most interesting of all their concerns, and it occupied, accordingly, their earliest and most solemn deliberation. They had been advised before they quitted England to agree among themselves on the form of church government which was to be established in the colony; but, neglecting this advice, they had gone no farther than to express their general concurrence in the principle that *the reformation of the church was to be endeavoured according to the written word of God.* They now applied to their brethren at Plymouth, and desired to be acquainted with the grounds of the constitution which had there been established; and, having heard these fully explained, and devoted some time to a diligent comparison of the model with the warrants of scripture which were cited in its vindication, and earnestly besought the enlightening aid of Him who alone can teach his creatures how to worship him with acceptance, they declared their entire approbation of the sister church, and proceeded to copy her structure in the establishment of their own. They united together in religious society by a covenant, in which, after a solemn dedication of themselves to live in the fear of God, and to walk in his ways, so far as he should be pleased to reveal himself to them, they engaged to each other to cultivate watch-

Their constitutions in church and state.

August 6.

[6] Mather, B. i. cap. iv. sect. 4. Neal, i. 125, 126.

BOOK II. 1629.

fulness and tenderness in their mutual intercourse; to avoid jealousies, suspicions, and secret risings of spirit; and in all cases of offence to bear and forbear, give and forgive, after the example of their Divine pattern. They promised, in the congregation, to repress their forwardness to display their gifts; and, in their intercourse, whether with sister churches or with the mass of mankind, to study a conversation remote from the very appearance of evil. They engaged, by a dutiful obedience to all who should be set over them in church or commonwealth, to encourage them to a faithful performance of their duty; and they expressed their resolution to approve themselves in their particular callings, the stewards and servants of God, shunning idleness as the bane of every community, and dealing hardly or oppressively with none of the human race. The form of policy which they adopted was that which distinguished the churches of the independents, and which I have already had occasion to describe. The form of public worship which they instituted, rejected a liturgy and every superfluous ceremony, and was adapted to the strictest standard of Calvinistic simplicity. They elected a pastor, a teacher, and an elder, whom they set apart for their respective offices by imposition of the hands of the brethren. All who were that day admitted members of the church signified their assent to a confession of faith drawn up by their teachers, and gave an account of the foundation of their own hopes as christians; and it was declared that no person should thereafter be permitted to subscribe the covenant, or be received into communion with the church, until he had given satisfaction to the elders with respect to the purity of his faith and the consistency of his conduct[7].

[7] Mather, B. i. cap. 4, sect. 6, 7. Neal, i. 126—128.

CHAP. I. 1629.

The constitution of which we have now beheld an abstract, and especially the covenant or social engagement so fraught with sentiments of genuine piety and enlarged benevolence, has excited the derision of some writers, who refuse to consider the speculative liberality which it indicates in any other point of view than as contrasted with the practical intolerance which the colonists soon after displayed. But however agreeable this aspect may be to eyes that watch for the frailties of the good and the weaknesses of the strong, this is not the only light in which it will present itself to humane and liberal minds. Philosophy admits that the soul is enlarged by the mere purpose of excellence; and religion has pronounced that even those designs which men are not deemed worthy to perform, it may be well for them to have entertained in their minds. The error of the inhabitants of Salem was the universal error of their age: the virtues they demonstrated were peculiar to themselves and their puritan brethren. In the ecclesiastical constitution which they established for themselves, and the sentiments which they interwove with it, they rendered a sincere and laudable homage to the rights of conscience and the requirements of piety; and these principles, no doubt, exercised a highly beneficial influence on the practice which unhappily they did not entirely control. The influence of principles that tend to the restraint of human ferocity and intolerance is frequently invisible to mortal eyes, because it is productive chiefly of negative consequences: and when great provocation or alarm has led the professors of these principles to violate the restraints they impose, they will be judged with little justice, if charity neglect to supply the imperfection of that knowledge to which we are limited while we see but in part, and to suggest the secret and honourable forbearance which may have preceded

BOOK II. 1629.

the visible action which we condemn or deplore. In the very first instance of intolerant proceeding with which the adversaries of the puritans have reproached this American colony, it appears to me that the influence of genuine piety in mitigating human impatience is very strikingly apparent. It is a notable fact that, although these emigrants were collected from a body embracing such diversity of opinion respecting church government and the rites of worship as then prevailed among the puritans of England, and though they had landed in America without having previously ascertained how far they were likely to agree on this very point, for the sake of which they had incurred banishment from England, the constitution which was copied from the church of New Plymouth gave satisfaction to almost every individual among them. Two brothers, however, of the name of Browne, one a lawyer, and the other a merchant, both of them men of note and among the number of the original patentees, dissented from this constitution, and arguing with vehement absurdity that all who adhered to it would infallibly become anabaptists, endeavoured to obtain converts to their opinion, and to establish a separate congregation on a model more approximated to the forms of the church of England. The defectiveness of their argument they endeavoured to supply by the vehemence of their clamour; and they obtained a favourable audience from a few who regarded with unfriendly eye the discipline which the colonial church was disposed to exercise upon offenders against the laws of morality. Mr. Endicot, the governor, called these men, together with the ministers, before the people; who, after hearing both parties, repeated their approbation of the system they had consented to; and, as the two brothers still persisted in their attempts to create a schism in the church, and even endeavoured to ex-

Two persons banished from the colony for schism.

cite a mutiny against the government, they were judged unfit to remain in the colony, and sent back by the vessels in which they had accompanied the other emigrants in the voyage from England[8]. Their absence restored unity of sentiment to the colonists, who were proceeding to complete their settlement and extend their occupation of the country, when they were interrupted by the approach of winter, and the ravages of disease, which quickly deprived them of nearly one half of their number, but produced no other change on their minds than to cause the sentiments of hope and fear to converge more steadily to the Author of their existence.

1629.

Notwithstanding the sarcastic comments which the banishment of the two individuals whose case I have just related has received from some eminent writers, the justice of the proceeding cannot fail, I think, to commend itself to the sentiments of all impartial men: and I should hardly have thought it necessary to notice the charge of intolerance to which the colonists have been subjected, if their conduct had never given greater occasion to it. But unfortunately a great proportion of the puritans at this period were strongly infected with the prevalent error of their age[9], and regarded the peaceable coexistence

Intolerance of some of the puritans.

[8] Mather, B. i. cap. 4. sect. 8. Neal, i. 129. On their return to England they preferred a heavy complaint against the colonists of oppressive demeanour to themselves and enmity to the church of England. The total disregard which their complaint experienced (Chalmers, p. 146) strongly confirms the opinion I have expressed of the understanding of all parties with regard to the real import of the charter.

[9] The richest endowment of reason could not exempt the greatest of philosophers from intolerance; nor could the experience of persecution fully evince its injustice even to its own victims. Lord Bacon thought that uniformity in religious sentiment and worship was essential to the support of government, and that no toleration could with safety be granted to sectaries. Bacon, *De unitate ecclesiæ*. During the administration of Cromwell, an eminent presbyterian minister, who had himself felt the hand of persecution, published a treatise against what he was pleased to term "*this cursed intolerable toleration.*" Orme's Life of Owen.

To the objection that persecution serves to make men hypocrites, an eminent minister in New England answered "Better tolerate hypocrites and tares, than briars and thorns." Another, in a work published in 1645, thus expresses himself. "It is said that men ought to have liberty of conscience, and that it is

BOOK II. 1629.

of different sects in the same community as nearly impossible—a notion which, it must be confessed, the treatment they received from their adversaries tended very strongly to enforce. If it was right that they who had suffered from persecution, should themselves abstain from what their own experience had feelingly shown to be so hateful and odious, it was natural that flying to deserts for the sake of particular opinions, they should expect to see these opinions flourish unmolested and undisputed. The sufferings they had endured from their adversaries, they regarded as one of the legitimate consequences of the pernicious errors that these adversaries had imbibed; and they customarily regarded their opponents as the enemies of their persons as well as persecutors of their opinions. The activity of government in support of the national opinion, they were far from condemning in the abstract. They admitted the legitimacy of such interposition, and condemned it only when it seemed to them erroneously directed. Even when oppressed themselves, they exclaimed against indiscriminate toleration. They contradicted so far their own principles; and maintained that human beings might and ought to punish what God alone could correct and alter [1]. Some of them, no doubt, had already anticipated the sentiments which at a later period came to be generally characteristic of the independents, and which induced them to reject all connexion between church and state, and disallow the competence

persecution to debar them of it. I can rather stand amazed than reply to this. It is an astonishment that the brains of men should be parboiled in such impious ignorance." Belknap's History of New Hampshire, vol. i. cap. 3.

[1] None have condemned them more strongly than the popish theologians, who have insultingly urged that persecution, however congenial to the Roman catholic principle, of submitting all private judgment to the regulation of an infallible church, was totally repugnant to the fundamental principle of protestantism, which asserts the supremacy of private judgment and individual opinion. But there is a fallacy here: for although the particular dogmas of catholic faith may be derived, not immediately from private judgment, but from the canons of the church, it must be to the private judgment of every catholic that this church is indebted for the recognition of its authority to enact such canons.

CHAP. I.

1629.

of the interposition of human authority to sustain one church or to suppress another. Unfortunately some of the early votaries of these liberal sentiments combined with them a set of political opinions which it would not be easy to realize without subverting civil society. Of this, a remarkable instance will very shortly occur in the progress of our narrative. But very opposite sentiments prevailed among the bulk of the colonists of Massachusetts, who came to America fresh from the influence of persecution, and had not, like their brethren at New Plymouth, the advantage of an intermediate residence in a land where a peaceful coexistence of different sects was demonstrated to be not only practicable, but eminently conducive to the promotion of those excellent graces of christian character, patience, charity, and a spirit of forbearance. Much might be urged and will doubtless suggest itself, in extenuation of this error, which long remained a root of bitterness to disturb their peace and felicity. But the considerations which may be allowed to mitigate our censure of the intolerant spirit which these people displayed, can never be permitted to transform it into a virtue. It was sharpened by the copious infusions which the colony received of the feelings excited in England by the increased severity of persecution, from which the victims began to fly in increasing numbers to America.

The British dominion in America underwent, about this period, some vicissitudes which in after years affected materially the prosperity both of New England and of the other colonial establishments in the same quarter of the world. The war which the king so wantonly declared against France in 1627, and which produced only disgrace and disaster to the British arms in Europe, was attended with events of a very different complexion in America. Sir David Kirk having obtained a commission to attack the

BOOK II.

1629.

American dominions of France, invaded Canada in the summer of 1628; and so successful was the expedition, that in July, 1629, Quebec was reduced to surrender to the arms of England. Thus was the capital of New France subdued by the English, about one hundred and thirty years before they achieved its final conquest by the sword of Wolfe. This signal event was unknown in Europe when peace was re-established between France and England; and Charles, by the subsequent treaty of St. Germain, not only restored this valuable acquisition to France, but expressed the cession he made in terms of such extensive application, as undeniably inferred a recognition of the French, and a surrender of the British claims to the province of Nova Scotia[2]. This arrangement manifestly threatened no small prejudice to the settlements of the English; and we shall speedily find that what it threatened, it did not fail to produce.

[2] Champlain's Voyage, part ii. 157, 8. 215, 216. Oldmixon, i. 6. Chalmers, 93.

CHAPTER II.

The Charter Government transferred from England to Massachusetts.—Numerous Emigration.—Foundation of Boston.—Hardships of the new Settlers.—Disfranchisement of Dissenters in the Colony.—Influence of the colonial Clergy.—John Cotton and his Colleagues and Successors.—Williams' Schism—he founds Providence.—Representative Assembly established in Massachusetts.—Arrival of Hugh Peters—and Henry Vane, who is elected Governor.—Foundation of Connecticut—and Newhaven.—War with the Pequod Indians.—Severities exercised by the victorious Colonists.—Disturbances created by Mrs. Hutchinson.—Colonization of Rhode Island—and of New Hampshire and Maine.—Jealousy, and fluctuating Conduct of the King.—Measures adopted against the Liberties of Massachusetts—interrupted by the Civil Wars.—State of New England—Population—Laws—Manners.

CHAP. II.

1629.

THE directors of the Massachusetts Bay company in England meanwhile exerted their utmost endeavours to reinforce the colony with a numerous body of additional settlers. Their designs were promoted by the rigour and intolerance of Laud's administration, which, daily multiplying the hardships imposed on all who scrupled entire conformity to the ecclesiastical ordinances, proportionably diminished, in their estimation, the danger and hardships attending a retreat to America. Many persons began to treat with the company for a settlement in New England, and several of these were people of distinguished family and fortune. But foreseeing the misrule inseparable from the residence of the legislative power in Britain, they demanded, as a previous condition of their emigration, that the charter and all the powers of government should be transferred to New England, and exercised within the territory of the colony. The company, who had incurred a con-

BOOK II.

1629. siderable expense with little prospect of speedy remuneration, were very well disposed to obtain such important aid by embracing the measure that was proposed to them: but doubting its legality, they thought proper to consult lawyers of eminence on the subject. Unaccountable as it must appear to every person in the slightest degree conversant with legal considerations, they received an opinion favourable to the wishes of the emigrants[1]; and accordingly it was determined, by general consent, "that the charter should be transferred, and the government be settled in New England." To the members of the corporation who chose to remain at home, was reserved a share in the trading, stock, and profits of the company, for the term of seven years[2]. By this transaction, one of the most singular that is recorded in the history of a civilized people, the liberties of the New England communities were placed on a sure and respectable basis. When we consider the means by which this was effected, we find ourselves encompassed with doubts and difficulties, of which the only solution that I am able to discover is the opinion I have already expressed, that the king was at this time exceedingly desirous to rid the realm of the puritans, and had unequivocally signified to them, that if they would bestow their presence on another part of his dominions, and employ their energies in peopling the deserts of America, instead of disturbing his operations on the church of England, they were free to

29 Aug. The charter government transferred from England to Massachusetts.

[1] There is not the slightest reason for supposing that the opinion was dishonest, or that it proceeded on erroneous information. Even at a subsequent period, the attorney-general, Sawyer, gave it as his official opinion, "that the patent having created the grantees *and their assigns* a body corporate, they might transfer their charter, and act in New England." Chalmers, p. 173. He had not perused the charter with sufficient attention. It conveyed the soil to the corporation and its *assigns*; but conferred the powers of government on the corporation and its *successors*. His mistake, however, may well seem to acquit the patentees of intentional deviation from the terms of their grant.

[2] Mather, B. i. cap. 5, sect. 1. Hutchinson, i. p. 12, 13.

arrange their internal constitution, whether civil or ecclesiastical, according to their own discretion. An English corporation, appointed by its charter to reside in London, resolved itself, by its own act, into an American corporation, and transferred its residence to Massachusetts: and this was openly transacted by men whose principles rendered them peculiarly obnoxious to their rulers, and under the eyes of a prince no less vigilant to observe, than vigorous to repress every encroachment on the limits of his prerogative. So far was Charles from entertaining the slightest dissatisfaction at this proceeding, or from desiring, at this period of his reign, to obstruct the removal of the puritans to New England, that about two years after this change had been carried into effect, when a complaint of arbitrary and illegal proceedings was preferred against the colony by a papist who had been banished from it, and who was supported by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the king, after a full hearing of the case in the privy council, issued a proclamation not only justifying but commending the whole conduct of the colonial government, reprobating the prevalent reports that he "had no good opinion of that plantation," and engaging not only to maintain the privileges of its inhabitants, but to supply whatever else might contribute to their further comfort and prosperity[3]. From the terms of this document (of which no notice is taken by the writers inimical to the puritans), and from the whole complexion of the king's conduct towards the founders

CHAP. II. 1629.

[3] Neal, i. 137, 8. This proclamation is very artfully worded, and contains indications of deeper designs, which were kept in reserve till the present policy had produced the effect that was expected from it. The ample inquiry that preceded the proclamation, must have induced the puritans to believe, that the whole proceedings of the colonists had received the royal approbation; and yet the pledge of protection and security is dexterously qualified with the condition of its appearing to the satisfaction of the king that the charter had been in all things effectuated according to its true meaning—an indication that a day might come when it would be more convenient for him to seek for a cause of quarrel with the colony. Had he succeeded in extinguishing liberty in England, the freedom of Massachusetts would not long have survived it.

BOOK II.

1629.

of this settlement, it would appear that, whatever designs he might secretly cherish of adding the subjugation of New England, at a future period, to that of his British and Virginian dominions, his policy at this time was to persuade the leaders of the puritans, that if they would peaceably abandon the contest for their rights in England, they were at liberty to embody and enjoy them in whatever institutions they might think fit to establish in America. And yet some writers [4], whom it is impossible to tax with ignorance, as they had access to all the existing materials of information, whom it would justly be held presumptuous to charge with defect of discernment, and whom it may perhaps appear uncharitable to reproach with malignity towards the puritans, have not scrupled to accuse the founders of this colony of effecting their ends by a policy not less impudent than fraudful, and by acts of disobedience little short of rebellion. The colonists themselves, notwithstanding all the facilities which the king presented to them, and the unwonted liberality and consideration with which he showed himself willing to grace their departure, were so fully aware of his rooted enmity to their principles, and so little able to reconcile his present conduct with his favourite policy, that they openly declared they had been led by Providence to a land of rest, through ways that were unintelligible to themselves; and that they could ascribe the blessings they obtained to nothing else but the special interposition of that Being who orders all the steps of his people, and holds the hearts of princes and of all men in his hands. It is indeed a strange coincidence, that this arbitrary prince, at the very time when he was exercising the sternest despotism over the royalists in Virginia, should have been cherishing the principles of liberty among the puritans in New England.

[4] Chalmers, Robertson.

CHAP. II.

Having effected this important revolution in their system of government, the adventurers proceeded to make the most vigorous exertions to realize the designs they had undertaken. In a general court, John Winthrop was appointed governor, and Thomas Dudley, deputy-governor, and eighteen assistants were chosen; in whom, together with the body of freemen who should settle in New England, were vested all the corporate rights of the company. With such zeal and activity did they prepare for emigration, that, in the course of the ensuing year, above fifteen hundred settlers, among whom were several wealthy and high-born persons, both men and women, who chose to follow truth into a desert, rather than to enjoy all the pleasures of the world under the dominion of error, set sail aboard a fleet of seventeen ships for New England. On their arrival at Salem many of them were so ill satisfied with its situation, that they explored the country in quest of better stations; and settling in different places around the bay, according to their various predilections, laid the foundation of Boston, Charlestown, Dorchester, Roxbury, and other societies which have since expanded into considerable towns. In each of these a church was established on the same model with that of Salem. This, together with the care of making provision for their subsistence during winter, occupied them entirely for several months. The approach of winter was attended with a repetition of those trials and distresses through the ordeal of which every body of settlers in New England was long fated to pass. Afflicted with severe scarcity, which all the generous contributions of the other settlements in the province were able but feebly to mitigate, attacked with various distempers, the consequence of hunger, cold, and the peculiarities of a soil and climate uncongenial to constitutions

1629.

1630.

Numerous emigration.

6 July.

Foundation of Boston.

Hardships of the new settlers.

BOOK II.

1630.

formed in Europe, and lodged for the most part in booths and tents that afforded but imperfect protection from the weather, great numbers of them were carried to the grave. But the noble determination of spirit which had impelled them to emigrate, preserved all its force: the survivors endured their calamities with unshaken fortitude; and the dying expressed a grateful exultation at having at least beheld with their eyes the gathering of a church of Christ in these desolate ends of the earth. The continuance of the pestilence enforced their devout supplications; and its cessation, which they recognised as the answer to their prayers, excited their devotional gratitude. This calamity was hardly removed when they were alarmed by the tidings of a universal conspiracy of the neighbouring Indians for their destruction. The colonists, instead of relying on their patent, had, on their first arrival, fairly purchased from the Indians all the tracts of land which they afterwards possessed; and in the hour of their peril, both they and the faithless vendors who menaced them, reaped the fruit of their concurrence or collision with the designs of Eternal Justice. The hostility of these savages was interrupted by a pestilential disorder that broke out among themselves, and with rapid desolation swept whole tribes of them away. This disorder was the small-pox, which has always proved a much more formidable malady to Indian than to European constitutions. In spite of the most charitable exertions on the part of the colonists to arrest the progress of the distemper by their superior medical skill, nine-tenths of the neighbouring savages were cut off, and many of the survivors flying from the infection, removed their habitations to more distant regions [5].

[5] Mather, B. i. cap. 5, sect. 1—6. Neal, i. p. 133, 4. Hutchinson, i. 19—23.

CHAP. II.

1631.

When the restoration of plenty, by the arrival of supplies from England, and the abatement of the severity of winter, permitted the colonists to resume their assemblies for the transaction of public business, their very first proceedings demonstrated that a great majority of them were considerably leavened with a spirit of intolerance, and were determined in their practical administration to exemplify a thorough intermixture, and mutual dependence of church and state. A law was passed, enacting that none should hereafter be admitted freemen, or be entitled to any share in the government, or be capable of being chosen magistrates, or even of serving as jurymen, but such as had been or should hereafter be received into the church as members. This law at once divested every person who did not hold the prevailing opinions, not only on the great points of doctrine, but with respect to the discipline of the church and the ceremonies of worship, of all the privileges of a citizen. An uncontrolled power of approving or rejecting the claims of those who applied for admission into communion with the church, being vested in the ministers and leading men of each congregation, the most valuable civil rights were made to depend on their decision with respect to qualifications purely ecclesiastical. Even at a later period, when the colonists were compelled, by the remonstrances of Charles the Second, to make some alteration of this law, they altered it only in appearance, and enacted that every candidate for the privilege of a freeman, should produce a certificate from some minister of the established church, that they were persons of orthodox principles, and of honest life and conversation—a certificate which they who did not belong to the established church necessarily solicited with great disadvantage. The consequence of such laws was to elevate the clergy to a very high degree of influence

Disfranchisement of dissenters in the colony.

Influence of the colonial clergy.

BOOK II.

and authority[6]: and, happily for the colony, she was long blessed with a succession of ministers whose admirable virtues were calculated to counteract the mischief of this inordinate influence, and even to convert it into an instrument of good. Though dissenters from the colonial church were thus deprived of political privileges, it does not appear that they were subjected to any other inconvenience, except where their tenets were considered as blasphemous, or when they endeavoured by the propagation of them to detach others from the established church, or by the practical realization of them to disturb the public peace. The exclusion from political privileges to which they were subjected, seems not at first to have given them any annoyance; but to have been felt to be the necessary consequence of that intertexture of church and commonwealth in which the main end of political institutions was the preservation of the church estate, and the chief value of political privileges considered to arise from their subservience to this end. Various persons resided in peace within the colony, though excluded from political franchises; and one episcopal minister is particularly noted for having said, when he signified his refusal to join any of the colonial congregations, that *as he had left England because he did not like the lord bishops, so they might rest assured he had not come to America to live under the lord brethren*[7].

1631.

1632. The diminution of their original numbers, which the colonists had suffered from hardship and disease,

[6] Many instances of their influence in matters of importance will occur in the further progress of our narrative. An instance of their control over public opinion on a point which, being quite beyond the province of reason, was the more likely to interest the most obstinate and unassailable prejudices, is mentioned by Hutchinson, p. 152. Tobacco was at first prohibited under a penalty; and in some writings that were popular in the colony, the smoke of it is, with most audacious absurdity, compared to the fumes of the bottomless pit. But some of the clergy having fallen into the practice of smoking, tobacco was instantly, by an act of government, "set at liberty."

[7] Neal, i. p. 135. Hutchinson, i. 26. Chalmers, 153.

was soon much more than compensated by the ample reinforcements which they continually received from their persecuted brethren in England. Among the new settlers who arrived not long after the transference of the seat of government to Massachusetts, were some eminent puritan ministers, of whom the most remarkable were Elliot and Mayhew, the first protestant missionaries to the Indians, and John Cotton, a man whose singular worth procured, and long preserved, to him a patriarchal repute and authority in the colony. After ministering for twenty years in England to a congregation by whom he was highly respected and beloved, Mr. Cotton had been summoned before the Court of High Commission on a charge of neglecting to kneel at the sacrament. Lord Dorset and other persons of distinction by whom he was known and valued, employed the strongest intercession in his behalf with Laud: but their exertions proving unavailing, Dorset sent to inform him, "that if it had been only drunkenness or adultery he had committed, he might have found favour, but the sin of puritanism was unpardonable." Mr. Cotton, in consequence, retired to New England, and found there a scene peculiarly calculated to develope and give efficacy to his piety and virtue. To an earnest concern for religion he united a deep and ever prevailing sense of it; and continually marching in front of his doctrine, he enforced its acceptance by the weight of his character and the animating influence of his example. The kindness of his disposition, and the courteous benevolence of his manners, enabled him, in all his intercourse with others, to diffuse the influence of his piety no less sensibly than agreeably through the veins of his conversation. The loftiness of the standard which he had continually in his view, and the assimilating influence of that strong admiration which he entertained for it, com-

John Cotton, and his colleagues and successors.

BOOK II.

1633.

municated to his character an elevation that commanded respect; while the continual sense of his dependence on divine aid, and of his shortcoming to his great pattern, graced his manners with a humility that attracted love, and disarmed the contentious opposition of petulance and envy. It is recorded of him, that having been once followed from the church where he had been preaching to his house, by an ignorant disputatious mechanic, who told him with a frown that his ministry had become dark and flat, he replied, "*Both, brother, it may be both; let me have your prayers that it may be otherwise.*" On another occasion, being accosted in the street by a pragmatical coxcomb, who insolently told him that he was an old fool, Mr. Cotton, with a mildness that showed he forgave his rudeness, and a solemnity that evinced he was very far from disregarding the opinion of his brethren, answered, "*I confess I am so; the Lord make thee and me wiser than we are, even wise unto salvation*[8]." The character of this excellent clergyman, and of many of his cotemporaries in the colonial ministry, seems to have been formed by Providence for the express purpose of counteracting, by strong individual influence, the violent, divisive, and contentious spirit that long continued to ferment among a community of men whom persecution had rendered rigid and inflexible in following out their opinions, whose sentiments had not been harmonized by previous habits of union, who were daily receiving into their body a fresh infusion of dissimilar characters and exasperated feeling, and among whom each naturally considered the opinions for which he had individually suffered, as the most important features in the common cause. When we recollect the presence of such elements of discord, and the severe and lengthened operation that had been given to that influence

[8] Neal, i. 138. 286. 288.

which tends to drive even the wise to frenzy, we shall be less disposed to marvel at the vehement heats and acrimonious contentions that in some instances broke forth to disturb the peace of the colony, than that in the midst of such threatening symptoms so much coherence and stability was preserved, and so much virtue, happiness, and prosperity attained. Among the instruments which the Divine Being adapted and employed to compose the frenzy and moderate the fervour of his people, were this eminent individual John Cotton, Thomas Hooker, a man very little inferior to him in worth, and, at a later period, Dr. Increase Mather, who succeeded to the estimation which Mr. Cotton had enjoyed, and whose family supplied no less than ten of the most popular ministers of their age to the church of Massachusetts, and produced the celebrated author of the ecclesiastical history of New England. Had the colonial ministry been composed entirely of such or such-like men, the agitated minds of the inhabitants might have much sooner attained a settled composure; but, unfortunately, the wild and impetuous spirit that was working in many of them did not long wait for leaders to excite and develope its powers.

Williams schism— 1634.

The first religious dissension that arose in the colony was promoted by Roger Williams, who had come over to New England in 1630, and preached for some years to the inhabitants of New Plymouth; but, not finding there an audience suitable to his purposes, he had solicited his dismission, and had recently been appointed minister of Salem. This man was a rigid Brownist, precise, illiberal, unforbearing, and passionate: he began to vent from the pulpit which he had gained by his substantial piety and fervid zeal, a singular medley of notions; some wildly speculative, some boldly opposed to the constitutions of civil society, and some which, if unex-

BOOK II.

1634.

ceptionable in theory, were highly unsuitable to the place from which they were delivered, and the exercises and sentiments with which he endeavoured to associate them. He maintained that it was not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray, nor for christians to join in family prayer with those whom they judged unregenerate; that it was not lawful to take an oath to the civil magistrate, not even the oath of allegiance, which he had declined himself to take, and advised his congregation equally to refuse; that King Charles had no right to usurp the power of disposing of the territory of the Indians, and hence the colonial patent was utterly invalid; that the magistrate had no right to restrain or direct the consciences of men; and that any thing short of unlimited toleration for all religions was detestable persecution. These liberal principles of toleration he combined with a spirit so rigid and separating, that he not only refused all communion with any who did not profess every one of the foregoing opinions, but forbade the members of the church at Salem to communicate with any of the other churches in the colony; and, when they refused to obey this prohibition, he withdrew from them, and set up a separate meeting in his own house. Here he was attended by a select assembly of zealous admirers, composed of men, in whose minds an impetuous temper, inflamed by persecution, had greatly impaired the sense of moral perspective; who entertained disproportioned ideas of those branches of the trunk of godliness, for the sake of which they had endured such mighty sufferings, and had seen worth and piety so foully wronged; and who abhorred every symbol, badge, and practice, that was associated with the remembrance, and spotted, as they conceived, with the iniquity of their idolatrous oppressors. One of his followers, Mr. Endicot, a magistrate of the

place, and formerly deputy-governor of the colony, in a transport of zeal against superstition, cut the red cross out of the king's colours; and many of the trained bands, who had hitherto followed these colours without objection, caught the contagion of Endicot's zeal, and protested that they would follow them no longer, if the cross were permitted to remain. The riotous and violent conduct of Endicot was universally disapproved, and the colonial authorities punished his misdemeanour by reprimand and disability of holding office for one year; but they were obliged to compromise the dispute with the protesters among the trained bands, and comply, to a certain extent, with their remonstrances. They were preparing to call Williams to a judicial reckoning, when Mr. Cotton and other ministers interposed and desired to be allowed to reason with him, alleging that his violence was prompted rather by a misguided conscience, than seditious principles; and that there was hope they might gain, instead of losing, their brother. *You are deceived in that man, if you think he will condescend to learn of any of you,* was the prediction of the governor, and the result of the conference proving the justice of it[9], sentence of banishment from the colony was forthwith pronounced upon Williams. This sentence excited a great uproar in Salem, and was so successfully denounced as persecution by the adherents of Williams, that the bulk of the inhabitants of the place were preparing to follow him into exile; when an earnest and pious admonition, transmitted to them by Mr. Cotton and

[9] Though he would not retract his dogmas, it seems that some of the arguments that were employed with him sank into his mind, and at least reduced him to silence. Mr. Hooker, one of the ministers who was sent to deal with him, urged, among other reasonings, "If it be unlawful for an unregenerate person to pray, it is unlawful for your unregenerate child to ask a blessing on his meat; and if so, it is unlawful for him to eat, since food is sanctified by prayer, and without prayer unsanctified (1 Tim. iv. 4, 5); and it must be equally unlawful for you to invite him to eat, since you ought not to tempt him to sin." To this he declined making any answer. Cotton. Mather.

BOOK II.

1634.

the other ministers of Boston, induced them to relinquish their purpose, to acknowledge the justice of the proceeding, and abandon Williams to his fortunes. He was not, however, abandoned by his more select adherents, whose esteem and affection he had gained to such a degree, that they resolved to incur every hazard, in order to live and die with him. Accompanying him in his exile, they directed their march towards the south, and settling at a place beyond the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, they bought a considerable tract of land from the Indians, and bestowed on their settlement the name of Providence. Had this man encountered the treatment to which the publication of his peculiar opinions would have exposed him in England, he would probably have been driven to madness: the wiser and kinder treatment he experienced from the Massachusetts authorities was productive of happier effects; and Mr. Cotton and his associates were not deceived, in supposing that they would gain their brother. They gained him in a manner, indeed, less flattering to themselves than a triumphant issue of the conference would have been, but much more beneficial to the interests of America. He concurred, as we shall see, at a later period, in founding the state of Rhode Island, and was one of its most eminent benefactors. He lived to an advanced age; and soon throwing off the wild and separating spirit with which his sentiments had been leavened, he regained the friendship and esteem of his ancient fellow colonists, and preserved a friendly correspondence with Mr. Cotton and others of them till his death. The principles of toleration, which he had formerly discredited, by the rigidness with which he disallowed the slightest difference of opinions between the members of his own communion, he now enforced by exercising that forbearance by which the differences

He founds Providence.

CHAP. II.

1634.

that distinguish christians are prevented from dividing them, and by cultivating that charity, by which even the sense of these differences is often melted down. The great fundamental principles of christianity daily acquiring a more exclusive and absorbing influence over his mind, he began to labour for the conversion of the Indians; and, in addition to the benefits of which his ministry among them was productive to themselves, he acquired over them an influence which he rendered highly advantageous to his old associates in Massachusetts, whom he was enabled frequently to warn of conspiracies formed against them by the savages in their vicinity, and communicated to him by the tribes with whom he maintained relations of friendship[1]. The vehemence that Endicot had displayed, was not less mellowed by time and the ascendancy of sound wisdom and piety. He remained in Massachusetts, and, at a later period, held for many years the chief office in its government with great advantage and general respect[2].

The colony of Massachusetts had continued meanwhile to attain stability and prosperity, and to extend its settlements; and this year an important and beneficial change took place in its internal constitution. The mortality that had prevailed among the Indians, had vacated a great many of the stations which their tribes had occupied, and as many of these were well chosen, the colonists took possession of them with an eagerness that dispersed their settlements widely over the province. This necessarily led to the introduction of representative government, and, accordingly, at the period of assembling the general court, the freemen, instead of attending it in person, according to the prescription of the charter, elected representa-

Representative assembly established in Massachusetts.

[1] Mather, B. VII. § 2—8. Neal, i. 140—143. Hutchinson, i. 37—40.
[2] Mather, B. II. Cap. v. § 4.

BOOK II.

1634.

tives in their several districts, whom they authorised to appear in their name and act in their behalf. The representatives were admitted, and henceforward considered themselves, in conjunction with the governor and assistants, as the supreme legislative assembly of the colony. The abstract wisdom of this innovation could not admit of doubt, and, in defence of their right to effect it, it was forcibly urged that the colonists were only making a new way to the enjoyment of a right already extended to them, and preventing their assemblies from becoming either too numerous to transact business, or too thin and partial to represent the interests which they were intended to administer, and supposed to embrace. The number of freemen had greatly increased since the charter was granted; many resided at a distance from the places where the supreme courts were held; personal attendance had become inconvenient; and, in such circumstances, it will not be easy to blame them for making with their own hands the improvement that was necessary to preserve their existing rights, instead of applying to the government of England, which was steadily pursuing the plan of subverting the organs of liberty in the mother country, and had already begun to exhibit an altered countenance towards the colony[3]. In consequence of this important measure the colony advanced beyond the state of a corporation, and acquired by its own act the condition of a society which was endowed with political liberty, and which had framed for itself a government derived from the model of the English constitution. The representatives having established themselves in their office,

[3] In the preceding year the privy council, alarmed by the strong sensation which was excited in England by the intelligence of the happiness enjoyed by the puritans under their ecclesiastical establishments in Massachusetts, issued an order to stay certain vessels which were about to proceed thither with emigrants, —Chalmers, p. 155,—probably with the view of suppressing the agitations and discussions which the projects of emigration engendered. The order was not carried into effect.

proceeded to assert the rights which necessarily attached to it, by enacting that no law should be passed, no tax imposed, and no public officer appointed but by the general assembly[4]. 1634.

The increasing violence and injustice of the royal government in England meanwhile cooperated so powerfully with the tidings that were circulated of the prosperity of Massachusetts; and the simple frame of ecclesiastical policy that had been established in the colony, presented a prospect so desirable, and rendered the gorgeous hierarchy and recent superstitious innovations in the ceremonies of the English church so additionally odious, that the flow of emigration seemed rather to enlarge than subside, and crowds of new settlers continued to flock to New England. Among 1635. the passengers, in a fleet of twenty vessels that arrived in the following year, were two persons who afterwards made a distinguished figure on a more conspicuous theatre. One of these was Hugh Peters, the celebrated chaplain and counsellor of Oliver Cromwell, and the other was Vane, whose father, Sir Henry Vane the elder, was a privy councillor, and high in office and credit with the king. Peters became minister of Salem, and, possessing a mind unusually active and enterprising, he not only discharged his sacred functions with zeal and advantage, but roused the planters to new courses of useful industry, and encouraged them by his own successful example. His labours were blessed with a produce not less honourable than enduring. The spirit which he excited has continued to prevail with unabated vigour; and nearly two centuries after his death, the piety, good morals, and industry by which Salem has ever been distinguished, have been traced to the effects of Peters's ministry. He remained in New England till the year 1641, when, at the request of the

Arrival of Hugh Peters.

[4] Hutchinson, i. 35—37. Chalmers, 157, 158.

BOOK II.

1635. and Henry Vane—

colonists, he went to transact some business for them in the mother country, from which he was fated never to return[5]. Vane, afterwards Sir Henry Vane the younger, had been for some time restrained from indulging his wish to proceed to New England by the prohibition of his father, who was at length induced to wave his objections by the interference of the king. A young man of noble family, animated with such ardent devotion to the cause of pure religion and liberty, that, relinquishing all his hopes in England, he chose to settle in an infant colony which as yet afforded little more than a bare subsistence to its inhabitants, was received in New England with the fondest regard and admiration. He was then little more than twenty-four years of age. His youth, which seemed to magnify the sacrifice he had made, increased no less the impression which his manners and appearance were calculated to produce. The awful composure of his aspect and demeanour stamped a serious grace and grandeur on the bloom of manhood; his countenance appeared the surface of a character not less resolute than profound, and whose energy was not extinguished, but concentrated into a sublime and solemn calm. He has been charged with enthusiasm by some who have remarked the intensity with which he pursued purposes which to them have appeared worthless and ignoble; and with hypocrisy by others who have contrasted the strength and stretch of his resolution with the calmness of his manners. But a juster consideration, perhaps, may suggest that it was the habitual energy of his deter-

[5] Bishop Burnet has termed this man "an enthusiastical buffoon," and reproached him with cowardice at his execution. But his life (stained, no doubt, with mortal imperfection) evinced a piety that Burnet never knew, and his death was dignified by a courage that distinguished him even among the regicides. After his fellow-sufferer Cook had been quartered before his face, the executioner approached him, and, rubbing his bloody hands, said, "Come, Mr. Peters, how do you like this work?" Peters answered, "I thank God I am not terrified at it; you may do your worst." Trials and Deaths of the Regicides.

CHAP. II.

mination that repressed every symptom of vehement impetuosity, and induced an equality of manner that scarcely appeared to exceed the pitch of a grave composure and constancy. It is the disproportion so frequently evinced between the genius and the character of eminent men, that occasions their irregular conduct and impetuous demeanour. But Vane, fully embracing the loftiest projects of his genius with all the faculties of his being, was deeply impressed with the vast and arduous nature of the work he undertook, and devoted himself to it with such a diligence and concentration of his forces as to the idle, the careless, and the speculative part of mankind, appears like insanity. So much did his mind predominate over his senses, and the nobler control the more ignoble part of his being, that, though constitutionally timid[6] and susceptible, in no common degree, of impressions of pain, yet his whole life was one continued course of great and daring enterprise; and when amidst the wreck of his fortunes and the treachery of his associates, death was presented to himself in the appalling form of a bloody execution, he prepared for it with an animated and even cheerful intrepidity, and encountered it with dignified composure. The man who could so subdue himself, was formed to exercise a strong influence on the minds of others. He was instantly complimented with the freedom of the colony; and enforcing his claims to respect, by the address and ability which he showed in conducting business, he was elected governor in the year subsequent to his arrival, by the universal consent of the colonists, and with the highest expectations of a happy and advantageous administration. These hopes, however, were disappointed. Vane, not finding in the political affairs of the colonists a wide enough field for the excursion of his active spirit, embarked his

1635.

1636.

who is elected governor.

[6] See Note VI.

BOOK II.

energy in their theological discussions; and, unfortunately, connecting himself with a party who had

1635. conceived singularly just and profound views of doctrine, but associated them with some dangerous errors, and discredited them by the wildest vehemence and disorder, he very soon witnessed the abridgement of his usefulness and the decline of his popularity [7].

Foundation of Connecticut—

The increasing numbers of the colonists, causing the inhabitants of some of the towns to feel themselves straitened for room, suggested the formation of additional establishments. A project of founding a new settlement on the banks of the river Connec-

1636. ticut was now embraced by Mr. Hooker, one of the ministers of Boston, and a hundred of the members of his congregation. After enduring extreme hardship, and encountering the usual difficulties that attended the foundation of a society in this quarter of America, with the usual display of puritan fortitude and resolution, they at length succeeded in establishing a plantation, which gradually enlarged into the flourishing state of Connecticut. Some Dutch settlers from New York, who had previously occupied a post in the country, were compelled to surrender it to them; and they soon after obtained from Lord Brooke and Lord Say and Sele, an assignation to a district which these noblemen had acquired in this region, with the intention of flying from the royal tyranny to America [8]. They had at first carried with

7 America Painted to the Life, by Ferdinando Gorges, cap. 32 and 38. Neal, i. 144. Hutchinson, i. 41. 53. 66. 98. Dwight's Travels in New England and New York, vol. i. 411.

8 Lord Brooke and Lord Say and Sele had proceeded so far in their design as to send over an agent to take possession of their territory, and build a fort. Happily for America, the sentiments and habits that rendered them unfit members of a society where complete civil freedom and perfect simplicity of manners were esteemed requisite to the general happiness, prevented these noblemen from carrying their project into execution. They proposed to establish an order of nobility and hereditary magistracy in America; and consumed so much time in arguing this important point with the other settlers who were to be associated with them, that at length their ardour for emigration abated, and nearer and more interesting prospects opened to their activity in England. Chalmers, 289, 290.

them a commission from the government of Massachusetts Bay, for the administration of justice in their new settlement; but, afterwards reflecting that their territory was beyond the jurisdiction of the authorities from whom this commission was derived, they combined themselves by a voluntary association into a body politic, constructed on the same model with the state from which they had separated. They continued in this condition till the Restoration, when they obtained a charter for themselves from King Charles the Second. That this secession from the colony of Massachusetts Bay was occasioned by lack of room in a province as yet so imperfectly peopled, has appeared so improbable to some writers, that they have thought it necessary to assign another cause, and have found none so satisfactory as the jealousy which they conclude Mr. Hooker must inevitably have entertained towards Mr. Cotton, whose influence had become so great in Massachusetts that even a formidable political dissension was quelled by one of his pacific discourses. But envy was not a passion that could dwell in the humble and holy breast of Hooker, or be generated by such influence as the character of Cotton was formed to exert. The sense of a redundant population was the more readily experienced at first from the unwillingness of the settlers to remove far into the interior of the country and deprive themselves of an easy communication with the coast. Another reason, indeed, appears to have enforced the formation of this new settlement; but it was a reason that argued not dissension, but community of feeling and design between the settlers who remained in Massachusetts and those who removed to Connecticut. By the establishment of this advanced station, a barrier, it was hoped, would be erected against the troublesome incursions of the Pequod Indians[b]. Nor

CHAP. II.

1636.

[b] Mather, B. i. cap. 6. sect. 2, 3. Hutchinson, i. 43—45. Trumbull's History of Connecticut, vol. i. cap. 4. It appears from Mather's Lives of Cotton

BOOK II.

1636.

is it utterly improbable that some of the seceders to this new settlement were actuated by a restless spirit which had hoped too much from external change, and which vainly urged a farther pursuit of that spring of contentment which must rise up in the mind of him who would enjoy it.

and New-haven.

In the immediate neighbourhood of this new settlement, another plantation was formed about two years after, by a numerous body of emigrants who arrived from England, under the guidance of Theophilus Eaton, a gentleman of fortune, and John Davenport, an eminent puritan minister. Massachusetts Bay appearing to them overstocked, and being informed of a large and commodious bay to the south-west of Connecticut river, they purchased from the natives all the land that lies between that stream and Hudson's river, which divides the southern parts of New England from New York. Seating themselves in this bay, they spread along the coast, where they built first the town of Newhaven, which has given its name to the settlement, and then the towns of Guilford, Milford, Stamford, and Brainford. After some time they crossed the bay, and planted several settlements in Long Island; in all places where they came, erecting churches on the model of the independents. When we perceive the injustice and cruelty exercised by the government of Britain, thus contributing to cover the earth with cities and to plant religion and liberty in the savage deserts of America, we recognise the overruling providence of that great Being who can render even the fierceness of men conducive to his praise. Having no patent, nor any other title to

and Hooker, that these men were knit together in the firmest bonds of christian friendship and cordial esteem. Paul and Barnabas (doubtless for wise purposes) were separated from each other. So were Cotton and Hooker, though by less unpleasing instrumentality. These men who forsook houses, lands, and country for the sake of the gospel, are described by Dr. Robertson as "rival competitors in the contest for fame and power!" This is the only light in which many eminent and even reverend writers are capable of regarding the labours of the patriot, the saint, and the sage.

their lands than the vendition of the natives, and not being included within the boundaries of any colonial jurisdiction, these settlers entered into a voluntary association of the same nature and for the same ends with that which the settlers in Connecticut had formed for themselves: and in this condition they remained till the Restoration, when Newhaven and Connecticut were united together by a charter of King Charles the Second[1].

1636.

War with the Pequod Indians.

When the settlement of Connecticut was projected, it was hoped that it might conduce to overawe the hostility of the Indians; but it produced a perfectly opposite effect. The tribes of Indians in the immediate vicinity of Massachusetts Bay were comparatively feeble and unwarlike; but the colonies of Providence and Connecticut were planted in the midst of powerful and martial hordes. Among these, the most considerable were the Naragansets, who inhabited the shores of the bay which bear their name, and the Pequods, who occupied the territory which stretches from the river Pequod to the banks of the Connecticut. The Pequods were a formidable people, who could bring into the field a thousand warriors not inferior in courage to any in the new world. They had early entertained a jealous hatred of the European colonists, and for some time past had harassed them with unprovoked attacks, and excited their abhorrence and indignation by the monstrous outrages to which they had subjected their captives.

[1] Neal, i. 152. The colonists of Massachusetts were very desirous that Mr. Davenport and his associates should settle among them. But "it had been an observation of Mr. Davenport's, that whenever a reformation had been effected in any part of the world, it had rested where it had been left by the reformers. It could not be advanced another step. He was now embarked in a design of forming a civil and religious constitution as near as possible to scripture precept and example. The principal gentlemen who had followed him to America had the same views. In laying the foundations of a new colony, there was a fair probability that they might accommodate all matters of church and commonwealth to their own feelings and sentiments. But in Massachusetts the principal men were fixed in the chief seats of government, which they were likely to keep, and their civil and religious polity was already formed." Trumbull, i. 97.

BOOK II. 1636.

Unoffending men, women, and children, who had the misfortune to fall into their hands, were scalped and sent back to their friends, or put to death with every circumstance of torture and indignity, while the assassins with diabolical joy called aloud to them to invoke the God of the christians, and put to the proof his power to save them. The extension of the English settlements excited their fury anew, and produced a repetition of attacks, which Mr. Vane, the governor of Massachusetts, determined at length to encounter and punish by offensive operations. Receiving intelligence of a serious attack that had been 1637. made by the Pequods on the Connecticut settlers, he summoned all the New England communities to embody the strongest force they could spare, and march to defend their brethren and vindicate the common cause. The Pequods, aware of the impending danger, were not wanting in endeavours to encounter and repel it. For this purpose, they sought a reconciliation with the Naragansets, their hereditary enemies and rivals in power, and requested these people to forget their ancient animosities, and for once to co-operate cordially with them against a common foe, whose progressive encroachments threatened to confound them both in one common destruction. But the Naragansets had long cherished a vehement hatred against the Pequods; and less moved by a distant prospect of danger to themselves, than by the hope of an instant gratification of their implacable revenge, they rejected the proposals of accommodation, and determined to assist the English in the prosecution of the war[2].

The Pequods incensed, but not dismayed, by this disappointment, proceeded by the vigour of their operations to anticipate the junction of the allied

[2] Mather, B. vii. cap. 6. Neal, i. 22, 23. 149. 156—159. Trumbull, i. cap. 5.

colonial forces; and the Connecticut troops, while as yet they had received but a small part of the reinforcements that their friends were preparing to send them, found it necessary to advance towards the enemy. The Pequods, commanded by Sassacus, their principal sachem, occupied two fortified stations, against one of which Captain Mason and the Connecticut militia, attended by a body of Indian allies, directed their attack. Their approach was quickened by the information they obtained, that the enemy, deceived by a seeming retrograde movement of the colonial forces, had abandoned themselves to the conviction that the English dared not encounter them, and were celebrating in perfect security the supposed evacuation of their country. About daybreak, while in deep slumber and supine security, they were approached by the English; and the surprise would have been complete, if they had not been alarmed by the barking of a dog. The war-whoop was immediately sounded, and they flew to their arms. The English rushed on to the attack; and while some of them fired on the Indians through the palisades, others forced their way by the entrances into the fort, and setting fire to the huts which were covered with reeds, involved their enemies in the confusion and terror of a general conflagration. After a manly and desperate resistance, the Pequods were totally defeated with the slaughter of at least five hundred of their tribe. Many of the women and children perished in the flames; and the warriors, in endeavouring to escape, were either slain by the English, or, falling into the hands of the Indian allies, who surrounded the fort at a distance, were reserved for a more cruel fate. Soon after this action, Captain Stoughton having arrived with the auxiliary troops from Massachusetts, it was resolved to pursue the victory. Several engagements took place which ter-

CHAP. II. 1637.

BOOK II.

minated unfavourably for the Pequods; and in a short time they sustained another general defeat which put an end to the war. A few only of this once powerful nation survived, who, abandoning their country to the English, dispersed themselves among the neighbouring tribes, and lost their existence as a distinct people. Sassacus had been an object of superstitious terror to the Naragansets, who had endeavoured to dissuade the English from risking a personal encounter with him, by the assurance that his person was divine and invulnerable. After the destruction of his people, when he fled for refuge to a distant tribe, the Naragansets, exchanging their terror for cruelty, solicited and prevailed with his hosts to cut off his head[3]. Thus terminated a struggle more important in its consequences, than from the numbers of the combatants, or the celebrity of their names. On its issue there had been staked no less than the question, whether christianity and civilization, or paganism and barbarity should prevail in New England.

1637.

This first military enterprise of the colonists was conducted with vigour and ability, and impressed on the aborigines a high opinion of their invincible courage and superior skill. Their victory, however, it must be confessed, was sullied by cruelties which it is easy to account for and extenuate, but painful to recollect. The Massachusetts' militia had been exceedingly diligent before their march in purging their ranks of all whose religious sentiments were thought to argue want or weakness of faith[4]. It had been well if they could have purged their own bosoms of the vindictive feelings which the outrages of the

Severities exercised by the victorious colonists.

[3] Mather, B. vii. cap. 6. Neal, i. 159—165. Hutchinson, i. 76—83. Trumbull, i. cap. 5.

[4] Regimental chaplains accompanied the New England forces in their campaigns, and in circumstances of doubt or danger, the chaplain was invited to pray for divine direction and assistance. Trumbull, i. 81. 89. When a commander-in-chief was appointed, his military staff was delivered to him by one of the clergy. Ib. 95.

savages were but too powerfully calculated to inspire. Some of the prisoners were tortured by the Indian allies, whose cruelties we can hardly doubt that the English might have prevented: a considerable number were sold as slaves in Bermudas [5], and the rest were reduced to servitude in the colonial settlements. In aggravation of the vindictive spirit displayed in these proceedings, it has been urged, but with very little reason, that the Pequods were entitled to the treatment of an independent people making a gallant effort to defend their property, their rights, and their freedom. But in truth, the Pequods were the aggressors in a causeless quarrel, and were fighting all along in support of barbarous outrage and purposes of extermination. The colonists had conducted themselves with undeviating justice, civility, and piety towards the Indians. They had treated fairly with them for their territories; assisted them by counsel and help in their diseases and their agriculture, and laboured to communicate to them the blessings of religion. They disallowed all acquisitions of territory from the Indians but such as should undergo the scrutiny of the general court; and they offered a participation of all their privileges and property to every Indian who would adopt the religion of a christian and the manners of a civilized human being. In return for these demonstrations of goodwill, they were treated with outrage and barbarity, directed against all that they reverenced or loved; and were forcibly impressed with the conviction that they must either extirpate these sanguinary idolaters, or leave their fellow-christians, their wives, children, and brethren exposed to a more horrid destruction

[5] A similar punishment was inflicted many years after in England on some of the royalists who had been implicated in Penruddock's insurrection. Hume, vii. 244.

BOOK II. 1637.

from their barbarous hands[6]. Even in the course of the war, they made propositions of lenity to the savages on the condition of their delivering up the murderers of the English; but their offers were uniformly rejected; and the people who adopted the murders as national acts, invited the avengers of blood to visit them with national punishments. The mutual hostilities of civilized nations, conducted by dispassionate mercenaries, and directed by leaders more eager for fame than prompted by anger or personal apprehension, may be administered on the principles of a splendid game. But such hostilities as those which the New England colonists were compelled to urge with the hordes of savage assassins who attacked them, will always display human passions in their naked horror and ferocity. The permission (for I suppose they could have prevented it) of the barbarity of their savage allies, appears the least excusable feature in their conduct. And yet in considering it, we must add to our allowance for passion inflamed by enormous provocation, the recollection of the danger and inexpediency of checking that mutual hostility of the savages which prevented a combination that might have proved fatal to the European name. The reduction of their captives to servitude was unquestionably a great evil; but one for which it would not have been easy to suggest a substitute to men too justly alarmed to permit the enemies whom, overcoming by force, they had but half subdued, to go free, and too poor to support them in idle captivity. The captive Pequods were treated with

[6] The colonists considered themselves in some degree accessary to the crimes which they might fail to prevent by neglect of any of the means warranted by strict justice. Belknap cites the following entry in a MS. Journal of events in New England, some years posterior to this period, "The house of John Keniston was burned and he killed at Greenland. The Indians are Simon, Andrew, and Peter. Those three we had in prison and should have killed. *The good Lord pardon us.*" History of New Hampshire, i. 155.

the utmost possible kindness, and regarded rather as indented servants than slaves. It must be acknowledged at least that the colonists observed a magnanimous consistency in their international policy, and gave the Indians the protection of the same stern principles of justice of which they had taught them to feel the vindictive energy. They not only offered a participation of their own privileges and territory to all civilized and converted Indians; but having ascertained the stations which the savages most highly valued, and the range of territory that seemed necessary to their comfort and happiness, they prohibited and annulled every transaction by which these domains might be added to the European acquisitions. A short time after the termination of the Pequod war, an Indian having been wantonly killed by some vagabond Englishmen, the murderers were solemnly tried and executed for the crime; and the Indians beheld with astonishment the blood of three men deliberately shed for the slaughter of one. The sense of justice co-operating with the repute of valour, secured a long tranquillity to the English settlements [7].

1637.

While the military force of Massachusetts was thus employed in the field, the commonwealth was shaken and torn by intestine disputes, which had been excited by theological discussions, and inflamed by the gall of unruly tongues and the bitterness of railing accusation. It was the custom at that time in Boston, that the members of every congregation should assemble in weekly meetings to repeat the sermons of the preceding Sunday; to debate the doctrines they had heard; to revive the impressions that had been produced by their Sabbatical exercises; and extend the sacred influence of the Sabbath throughout the week. Mrs. Hutchinson, the wife of one of the most respectable inhabitants of the colony, a lady

Disturbance created by Mrs. Hutchinson.

7 Mather, B. vii. cap. 6. Neal, i. 154, 5. Hutchinson, i. 79, 80.

BOOK II. 1637.

of masculine spirit and great subtlety and vivacity of apprehension, submitted with impatience to the regulation by which women at these meetings were debarred from the privilege of joining in the debates: and at length, apprehending that she was authorised to exercise her qualifications by the precept of Scripture which enjoins *the elder women to teach the younger*, she established separate meetings of the christians of her own sex, where her zeal and talent soon procured her a numerous and admiring audience. These women, who had partaken the struggles and perils of the male colonists, had also caught no small portion of the various hues of their spirit; and as many of them had been accustomed to a life more replete with external elegance and variety of interest and employment than the state of the colony could supply, they found a listless craving for something to animate and engage their faculties, and judged nothing fitter for this purpose than an imitation of those exercises for the promotion of the great common cause which seemed to minister such comfort and supportment to the spirits of the men. The issue of their design illustrated very signally some of the least estimable peculiarities of female character, and amply demonstrated that its defects are not cured but fortified by such irregular congregation. Mrs. Hutchinson, their leader, had by her earnest zeal gained the cordial esteem of Mr. Cotton, whose charity never failed to recognise in every human being the slightest trace of those graces which he continually looked for; and towards him she entertained and professed for some time a very high veneration. The friendship of Mr. Vane and some others had a less favourable influence on her mind; and the admiration they expressed of the depth and vigour of her ratiocination, seems to have elevated in her apprehension the gifts of intellect above the graces of character. She acquired the

title of *The Nonsuch*, which the admiration of her followers had eagerly derived from an anagrammatical transposition of the letters of her name; and gave to her female assemblies the title of *gossipings;* a term at that time of respectable import, but which the scandalous repute of female conventions and debates has since consigned to contempt and ridicule. Doing amiss what the Scriptures plainly forbade her to do at all, she constituted herself a teacher of orthodoxy, and a censor of the faith of all the ministers and inhabitants of the colony. Her canons of doctrine were received by her associates as the unerring standard of truth, and a defamatory persecution was industriously waged against all who rejected or professed themselves unable to understand them. A scrutiny was instituted into the characters of all the clergy and laity of the province; and of those who refused to receive the doctrinal testimony of the conclave, few found it easy to stand the test of a censorious gaze, quickened by female petulance and controversial rancour. Women, neither fitted by the constitution of their nature, nor prepared by their education and habits, for the rough contests and collisions of the world, demonstrate, in general, great pertinacity, severity, and impatience, when they assume the direction of affairs, or arrogate a jurisdiction over those who conduct them. Losing the gentle graces of their own sex when they step beyond the sphere of its duties, without acquiring the hardy virtues of the other sex, whose province they invade, they show themselves keenly susceptible and utterly unforbearing, swift to speak and slow to hear, headlong in conduct, prompt to accuse, intolerant of contradiction, acrimonious in reproach. In these female assemblies, there was trained and exercised a keen pugnacious spirit and unbridled license of tongue, of which the actings were quickly felt in the serious

BOOK II.

1637.

disturbance, first of domestic happiness, and then of the public peace. The matrons of Boston were transformed into a synod of *tatlers and busy bodies*, whose bold decrees and slanderous deliberations sent their influence into the innermost recesses of society: and the spirits of men being in that combustible state which the application of a very feeble flash will kindle into a formidable conflagration, the whole colony was set on fire by the incontinence of female spleen and verbosity. A line of demarcation was drawn between those whom Mrs. Hutchinson esteemed the sound, and those whom she denominated the unsound; and all who were included in this latter description heard themselves continually stigmatized as a generation of unchristian vipers, or helpless bondslaves to a covenant of works.

The tenets which this faction, and a few ministers who united with it, adopted and inculcated, were denounced by their adversaries as constituting the heresy of antinomianism—a charge which, when preferred by the world at large, indicates no more than the reproach which the gospel, from its first promulgation, has been fated to sustain, and when advanced by christians against members of their own body, generally implies nothing else than the deductions which they draw from certain views of doctrine, but which the holders of these views utterly reject and disallow. Nothing can be more perfectly antinomian than the system of the gospel; nor any thing more powerfully operative than the influence which it is fitted to exert. Mrs. Hutchinson and her adherents contended more earnestly for the freedom, than for the constraining influence of divine grace; and with the eagerness and impetuosity of female feeling, were not slow to brand with terms of heretical and contemptuous designation, every inhabitant of the colony, and particularly every mini-

ster, whose views did not coincide with their own. The doctrines which they gave forth, and the censures which they propagated, were received with equal eagerness by a considerable party; and equally provoking the displeasure of others, excited the most violent dissensions throughout the whole colony. Mr. Cotton endeavoured to reconcile or moderate the heats that arose, by representing to the parties that their strife was prejudicial to that which he firmly believed to be the great object of both, the exalting and honouring of divine grace; *the one* (said he) *seeking to advance the grace of God within us in the work of sanctification, the other seeking to advance the grace of God without us, in the work of justification.* But the strife was not to be stopped; and his endeavours to arrest it attracted upon himself the fulmination of a censure of timorous and purblind incapacity from the assembly of the women; and, as even this could not induce him to take a strong part against them, he incurred a temporary abatement of his popularity with the bulk of the inhabitants. He could not consent to condemn the form of sound words by which some of the tenets of the sectaries were peculiarly distinguished; but he viewed with grief and amazement the fierce and contemptuous spirit with which they were maintained, and the wild and dangerous errors with which they very soon came to be associated. The controversy raged with a violence very unfavourable to the discernment and reception of truth. Mrs. Hutchinson and her adherents, both male and female, persuaded (and justly so, I think, on some points) of the superior clearness, truth, and simplicity of their system of doctrines, forgot to consider how far the opposition which it encountered might be traced to the obscurity and imperfection with which they themselves received and enforced it—a consideration which no human being

CHAP. II. 1637.

BOOK II.

1637.

is entitled to disregard, and which is eminently fitted to render superior attainments more amiable and efficacious, by rendering them more productive of candour and humility. The principles they discarded from their creed laid hold upon their spirit; and while they contended for the sovereignty of divine grace in communicating truth, they attacked the sentiments of their adversaries with an acrimony and invective that might have been thought to imply that truth was easily and exclusively attainable by the mere will and endeavour of men. The most enlightened and consistent christian will ever be the most ready to acknowledge that *he knows nothing yet as he ought to know*, and may have more cause than he can yet discover, to blush for the defectiveness of a testimony, which, exhibited with more clearness and simplicity, might have found greater acceptance with mankind. But no such considerations suggested themselves to mitigate the vehemence, or soften the asperity, of these busy, bold, and presumptuous spirits; nor did it ever occur to them that the truths they held forth would be liable to be evil spoken of, from association with the deadly poison of that world of iniquity, an untamed, licentious tongue. It is asserted that the heat of their tempers gradually communicated itself to the understandings of Mrs. Hutchinson and her party, and that in addition to their original tenets, that believers are personally united with the spirit of God, that commands to work out salvation with fear and trembling belong only to those who are under a covenant of works, and that sanctification is not the proper evidence of christian condition, they received that unhappy error of the Quakers, that the spirit of God communicates with the minds of believers independently of the written word; and, in consistency with this, received many revelations of future events announced to them

by Mrs. Hutchinson as equally infallible with the prophecies of Scripture. But the accounts that are transmitted to us of such theological dissensions are always obscured by the cloud of contemporary passion, prejudice, and error: hasty effusions of passionate zeal are mistaken for deliberate sentiments; and the excesses of the zealots of a party held up as the standard by which the whole body may fairly be tried[8].

CHAP. II.

1637.

Some ministers, adopting Mrs. Hutchinson's opinions, began to enforce them from the pulpit with such vehement invectives against all by whom they were rejected, as at length brought the dissensions to a crisis; and Mr. Vane being considered the confederate and protector of Mrs. Hutchinson, his continuance in office, or dismissal from it at the approaching annual election, was the first test by which the parties were to try with which of them resided the power of imposing silence on the other. So much had been done to gall and irritate the feelings of the people, and to stimulate them to mutual dislike and suspicion, that the utmost efforts of the sober and humane could barely prevent the day of election from being disgraced by a general riot. All the exertions of Vane's partizans failed to obtain his re-appointment; and, by a great majority of votes, the government was conferred on Mr. Winthrop. Vane still remained in the colony,

[8] That to a certain extent, however, this error had crept in among them, seems undeniably manifest; and it is remarkable that the notion which united them with the fundamental tenet of the Quakers should have issued from a society which, with farther resemblance to the Quakers, admitted the anti-scriptural irregularity of female teaching. Captain Underhill, one of Mrs. Hutchinson's followers, carried this error to a monstrous length, and combined with it the grossest immorality of conduct. He gave great offence by publicly maintaining that he had received a special communication of his everlasting safety while he was smoking a pipe. He was banished along with his patroness; and, a few years after, returned to Boston, where he made a public confession of hypocrisy, adultery, and delusion. Belknap's Hist. of New Hampshire, vol. i. cap. ii. Another of Mrs. Hutchinson's followers was a woman named Mary Dyer, who retired to Rhode Island, where she subsequently became a Quaker. Winthrop's History (Savage's edition), i. 261.

BOOK II.

1637.

professing his willingness to serve the cause of God in the meanest capacity; and the followers of Mrs. Hutchinson, regarding his deprivation of office as a dangerous blow to themselves, ceased not to labour for his reinstatement with as much warmth as they had exerted in the propagation of their tenets. The government was loudly declaimed against, and Mr. Winthrop openly slighted and affronted. At length it was determined by the prevailing party, to cut up this source of contention by the roots; and a general synod of the churches of the colony having been assembled, the new opinions were condemned as erroneous and heretical. As this proceeding seemed only to provoke their professors to assert them with greater vehemence than ever, the leaders of the party were summoned before the general court. Mrs. Hutchinson rebuked her judges for their wicked persecution of truth, compared herself to the prophet Daniel when cast into the den of lions, and proceeded to complete the comparison by venturing to exercise what she believed to be the gift of prophecy, and predicting that her exile would be attended with the ruin of her adversaries and all their posterity[9]. To this punishment, nevertheless, she was condemned, together with her brother Wheelwright, who was a preacher, and had been the great pulpit champion of her doctrines: and some of the inferior members of the faction, partly on account of the violence with which they still

[9] Her presumption was very signally punished. The ruin she predicted as the consequence of her exile fell on herself and her family. She went to Rhode Island, but not liking that situation, removed to one of the Dutch settlements, where she and all her family were murdered by the Indians. We may hope that the errors, by which she darkened and discredited the truth, were occasioned by a head over-heated with controversy, and rendered giddy by an undue elevation. Before she quitted Massachusetts, she signed a recantation of some of the erroneous tenets she had propounded; but maintained (in the face of the clearest evidence to the contrary) that she had never entertained them. This was considered a proof of dissimulation. Perhaps it might rather have warranted the inference that the visionary and violent spirit which had laid hold of her had departed or subsided, and that she no longer knew or understood the opinions which through its medium had formerly presented themselves to her imagination.

maintained their theological tenets, and partly for the seditious insolence with which they had treated the new governor, were fined and disfranchised. In consequence of these proceedings, Vane quitted the colony and returned to England, "leaving a caveat," says Mather, "that all good men are not fit for government[1]." CHAP. II. 1637.

From the unpleasing contemplations of these religious dissensions, we now turn to the more agreeable survey of some of the consequences of which their issue was productive. A considerable number of persons, highly dissatisfied with the proceedings of the synod and the general court of Massachusetts, voluntarily forsook the colony: some of these proceeded to join Roger Williams and his friends at Providence; and, being soon after abandoned by Mrs. Hutchinson, they fell under the guidance of that meliorated spirit which Williams had now begun to display. By a transaction with the Indians, these associated exiles obtained a right to a fertile island in Naraganset Bay, which acquired the name of Rhode Island[2]. Williams remained among them upwards of forty years, respected as the father and director of the colony which he had planted, and of which he was several times elected governor. In the year 1643, he made a journey to England, and, by the interest of Sir Henry Vane, obtained and brought back to them a parliamentary charter, by which Providence and Rhode island remained united till the Restoration. Others of the exiles, under the guidance of Wheelwright, betook themselves to the north-east parts of New England; and, being joined by associates who were allured by the prospects of rich fisheries and an advantageous beaver trade, they Colonization of Rhode Island—

[1] Mather, B. ii. Cap. iv. § 8. Cap. v. § 3. B. vii. Cap. iii. Neal, i. 165—177. Hutchinson, i. 55—57. 61—63. 70—72. ii. 509.

[2] The price paid to the Indians was fifty fathoms of white beads, ten coats, and twenty shoes. Chalmers, 271.

BOOK II.

gradually formed and peopled the provinces of New Hampshire and Maine. These provinces had been respectively purchased by Mason and Gorges from the council of Plymouth, and many ineffectual attempts were made by these two adventurers to colonise their acquisitions with advantage to themselves. Mason and Gorges were actuated by very different views from those which prevailed in general among the colonists of New England: they wished to become the proprietaries or hereditary chiefs of vast manors and seigniories, and to establish in America the institutions which the emigrants to America were generally seeking to escape from. They found it totally impracticable to obtain a revenue from the settlers in New Hampshire and Maine, or to establish among them a form of government suited to their own views. These settlers, composed partly of adventurers from England, and partly of exiles and voluntary emigrants from Massachusetts, framed for themselves separate governments, under which they continued to subsist, till, wearied with internal disputes and divisions, they petitioned the general court of Massachusetts to be taken under its protection, and were again associated with the colony from which they had departed [3].

1637. and of New Hampshire and Maine.

A schism, similar to that which Mrs. Hutchinson had created, was fomented at Plymouth by one Samuel Gorton; but his career in this place was cut short by a conviction for swindling. Thence he went to Rhode Island, where he created such disturbance, that even in this community, where unlimited toleration was professed, he was sentenced to be flogged and banished. Proceeding to Providence, he had nearly involved the people of this settlement in a war with the Indians; till, at length, on the

[3] Neal, i. 144. 178. 153. Hutchinson, 74, 75. Sullivan's History of Maine. Belknap's Hist. of New Hampshire, vol. i.

entreaty of Roger Williams, the government of Massachusetts sent a party to apprehend him, and, after imprisoning him and some of his adherents in the workhouse, obliged them to depart the country[4]. 1638.

The losses, which the population of Massachusetts sustained by the various emigrations which we have witnessed, were supplied, in the following year, by the arrival of a fleet of twenty ships, with three thousand settlers from England. The same year witnessed the establishment of an institution calculated to improve the moral condition of the people. This was Harvard college, at Cambridge, in Massachusetts, the first seminary of learning erected in North America. So highly prized were the advantages of knowledge and the influence of education by these generous colonists, that, as early as the close of the year 1630, and while yet struggling with the first difficulties and distresses of their arrival, the general court at Boston had appropriated four hundred pounds to the erection of a seminary of learning. The bequest of a colonial minister, who desired his whole fortune to be applied to the same design, enabled them now to enrich their country with an establishment whose operation has proved as beneficial to their posterity, as its institution, at so early a period of their history, is honourable to themselves[5].

Jealousy, and fluctuating conduct of the king.

The population of New England was now to be left to depend on its own resources; and the impulse which had been communicated to it by the stream of

[4] Gorges' America painted to the Life, Part ii. Cap. 24. Neal, i. 179, 80. Gorton went to England, and, during the civil wars, involved the colony in no small trouble by his complaints of the persecution he had undergone.

[5] Mather, B. iv. cap. 1. Neal, i. 181, &c. Hutchinson, i. 86. For some time the college laboured under the defect of a library. The efforts of the managers to accumulate one, were aided by considerable donations of books made to them by that great and pious ecclesiastic Archbishop Usher, the celebrated nonconformist minister Richard Baxter, and that distinguished warrior and philosopher Sir Kenelm Digby. It is an interesting fact, and which seems to strengthen and dignify the relationship between the two countries, that many of the most illustrious men that England has ever produced, contributed to lay the foundation of civilized society in America. The enumeration of the patentees in the Virginian charters, includes almost every distinguished individual in England at the time.

BOOK II.

1638.

emigration from the parent state was to cease. For some time past, the policy of the English government towards the colony had been singularly irresolute and unsteady: many demonstrations had been made of jealous dislike and tyrannical design; but, never being carried into execution, they had served merely to keep the colonists united by a sense of common danger, and to endear the institutions of liberty by the destruction with which they were ineffectually menaced. The king appears to have doubted pretty early the congeniality of his first proceedings towards the emigrants with the general policy of his administration: the experience of every year had confirmed his doubts, and he had wavered in irresolute perplexity between his original wish to evacuate England of the puritans, and his apprehension of the dangerous and increasing influence which their triumphant establishment in America was visibly exerting. The success of his politic devices had appeared at first to answer all his expectations, and he seemed likely to prevail over the puritans by the demonstration of a hollow good-will or lenity suspended on the condition of their abandoning the realm. A considerable portion of the embers of puritan and patriotic feeling had been removed from England, and seemingly cast away in deserts, where as yet no colony had been able to survive. But they had neither languished nor perished; and, on the contrary, had kindled in America a conflagration so powerful and extensive that all England was warmed and enlightened by the blaze. The jealous attention of Laud was soon awakened to the disastrous issue of this branch of the royal policy, and while he meditated the means by which its effects might be counteracted, he maintained spies in New England, whose intelligence confirmed his misgivings, and who courted his favour by traducing the objects of his dislike. The detection of this correspondence served to animate

the resentment and enforce the caution and the union of the colonists. So early as the year 1633, the English government, yielding to its first alarm, made a hasty and ill-considered attempt to repair its error by issuing a proclamation reprobating the designs that prompted emigration to New England, and ordering all ships that were about to proceed thither with passengers to be detained. It was quickly felt that this measure was premature, and that it could serve no other end than to irritate the impatience of the puritans to obtain either at home or abroad the institutions which they had made preparation to realize and enjoy. Not only was the proclamation suffered to remain unenforced, but even, at a later period, Charles reverted so far to his original policy as to promote, by his own interposition, the expatriation of young Vane, of whose political and religious sentiments he was perfectly aware. After an interval of hesitation, measures more deliberate were adopted for subverting the colonial liberties. In the year 1635, a commission was granted to the great officers of state and some of the nobility for the regulation and government of the plantations. By this commission the archbishop of Canterbury (Laud), and a few others, were authorized to make laws and constitutions for the colony; to establish an order of clergy, and assign them a maintenance; and to punish capitally, or otherwise, all who should violate their ordinances. The general body of the commissioners were directed to examine all existing colonial patents and charters, *and if they found that any had been unduly obtained, or that the liberties they conferred were hurtful to the prerogative royal, to cause them to be revoked and quashed*[6]. The English grand council

1638.

[6] This strongly corroborates the opinion I have expressed of the real meaning, understanding, and intention of the king and the puritan emigrants at the time when the New England charter was framed and granted.

BOOK II.

1638.

of Plymouth were easily persuaded to give the first example of submission to this arbitrary authority; and, accordingly, the same year they surrendered their useless patent to the king, under reservation of their claims as individuals to the property of the soil. These reserved claims gave occasion at an after period to much dispute, perplexity, and inconvenience. The only proceeding, however, which immediately ensued against the New England colonists, was the institution of a process of *quo warranto* against their charter in the Court of King's Bench, of which no intimation was made to the parties interested, and which was never prosecuted to a judicial issue[7]. It is vain to speculate on all the varying motives and purposes that from time to time directed and varied the policy of the king. He was formed to hate and oppress political freedom and the rights of conscience; but fated to do them signal service by his unavailing and ill-directed hostility. In the year 1637 he granted a commission to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, appointing him governor-general of New England, and issued a proclamation prohibiting all persons from transporting themselves, or others, to that country without a special warrant from the king, which, it was added, would be granted to none who could not produce credible certificates of their having taken the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and fully conformed to the discipline of the church of England. But the critical state of affairs at home prevented the adoption of measures requisite to give effect to Gorges' commission; and the irresistible impatience of the oppressed puritans and friends of liberty to escape from impending ruin, or approaching civil war, rendered the restrictions imposed on

7 Chalmers asserts that judgment was given against the colony; but the reverse appears from the authorities to which he refers, and still more clearly from the record of the proceedings preserved in Hazard, p. 425.

their emigration utterly unavailing. We have seen that, in the year 1638, a numerous transportation of additional emigrants was effected. But, in the course of that year, the king at length was roused to a vigour which now alone was wanting to mature and accelerate his ruin; and, after this long course of blundering, wavering, and failure, he adopted a measure which, unfortunately for himself, was effectual. Hearing that another fleet was about to sail for New England with a body of emigrants, among whom were some of the most eminent leaders of the patriots and puritans, he caused an order of council to be issued for their detention; and the order being promptly enforced, the voyage was prevented. On board this fleet there appear to have been, among other eminent individuals, Hazlerig, Hampden, Pym, and Oliver Cromwell[8]—men to whom, but a few years after, he was fain to tender the highest offices in his realm, and whom his injustice now detained to avenge the tyranny by which so many of their brethren had been driven away. Various proclamations were issued the same year in restraint of emigration to New England, which, from this time, accordingly, appears to have

[8] That Hampden and Cromwell were on board this fleet, or that they even intended to proceed to America, has been doubted, but I think without any reason. Hume has rather confirmed than removed the doubt by the manner in which he has referred to a passage in Hutchinson, the meaning of which he has evidently misunderstood. But Dr. Mather, who preceded Hutchinson, expressly names all the individuals mentioned in the text as having prepared for their voyage, and been arrested by the order of council. Oldmixon recites the grant of land in America in favour of *Hampden* and others, which the emigrants were proceeding to occupy. Mather's statement is confirmed by Neal, Clarendon, Bates, and Dugdale. The strong mind of Cromwell appears long to have retained the bias it had once received towards emigration, and the favourable opinion of the settlers of New England from which that bias had been partly derived. After the *Remonstrance* was voted in the Long Parliament, he told Lord Falkland that if the question had been lost he was prepared next day to have converted his effects into ready money and left the kingdom. When he was invested with the Protectorate he treated Massachusetts with distinguished partiality. Hume considered himself as levelling a most sarcastic reflection against Hampden and Cromwell, when he described them as willing to cross the Atlantic ocean for the sake of saying their prayers. Some writers, who partake the political, but not the religious, sentiments of these eminent persons, have been very willing to defend them from so scandalous an imputation.

BOOK II.

1638.

been discontinued [9]. This proceeding naturally inflamed the public mind to the highest pitch of discontent. Even the hospitality of rude deserts, it was exclaimed, was denied to the oppressed inhabitants of England; and men were constrained to inquire if the evils which could not be evaded might not be repelled, and since retreat was impracticable, if resistance might not be availing. By promoting emigration at first, the king had opened a vein which it was eminently hazardous to close; and the increased severity of his administration augmented the flow of evil humours at the very time when he thus imprudently deprived them of their accustomed vent. The previous emigration had already drained the puritan body of a great number of those of its members whose milder tempers and more submissive piety rendered them more willing than their brethren to decline a contest with him: the present restrictions forcibly retained in the realm men of more daring spirit and trained in long habits of enmity to his person and opposition to his measures [1]. He had now at length succeeded in stripping his subjects of every protection that the law could extend to their rights; and was destined soon to experience how completely he had divested them of every restraint that the law could impose on the vindictive retribution of their wrongs. From this period till the assembling of the long parliament, he pursued a short and headlong career of disgrace and disaster, while the cloud of calamities in which

[9] Mather, B. i. cap. 5. Neal, i. 148, 149. 151. Hutchinson, i. 32. 42. 86. and Append. No. iv. Oldmixon, i. 42, and in Pref. p. 12. Chalmers, 158, 159, 160, 161. Hazard, 421, 422, 423, &c. 433, 434. The American historians of this period are exceedingly careless, and most perplexingly discordant in their notation of dates, as I have frequently experienced, though never with so much inconvenience as in the arrangement of the events related in this paragraph.

[1] The commencement of resistance in Scotland originated with some individuals of that country who had purchased an allotment of territory in New England, and made preparation to transport themselves thither, but were prevented (it does not appear how) from carrying their design into execution. They had obtained from the colonial assembly an assurance of the free exercise of their presbyterian form of church government. Mather, B. i. cap. 5. sec. 7.

he had involved himself seemed to veil his eyes from the destruction to which he was infallibly advancing.

1638.

In pursuance of the policy which the king at length seemed determined openly and vigorously to pursue, a requisition was transmitted by the privy council to the governor and general court of Massachusetts, commanding them to deliver up their patent and send it back by the first ship that should sail for England, that it might abide the issue of the process of *quo warranto* that was depending against the colony. To this requisition the general court returned for answer, a humble and earnest petition that the colonists might be heard before they were condemned. They declared that they had transported their families to America, and embarked their fortunes in the colony, in reliance on his majesty's licence and encouragement; that they had never willingly or knowingly offended him, and now humbly deprecated his wrath, and solicited to be heard with their patent in their hands. If it were wrested from them, they must either return to England or seek the hospitality of more distant regions. But they prayed that they might "be suffered to live in the wilderness," where they had as yet found a resting-place, and might experience in their exile some of that favour from the ruler of their native land which they had largely experienced from the Lord and Judge of all the earth. They retained possession of their patent while they waited an answer to this petition, which, in the shape wherein they looked for it, they were happily destined never to receive. The insurrections which soon after broke out in Scotland, directed the whole attention of the king to matters which more nearly concerned him; and the long gathering storm which was now visibly preparing to burst upon him from every corner of his dominions, forcibly induced him to contract as far as possible the sphere of hos-

Measures adopted against the liberties of Massachusetts—

September.

interrupted by the civil wars.

BOOK II.

1639.

tility in which he found himself involved[2]. The benefit of his altered views was experienced by the Virginians, in the abolition of the despotism to which he had hitherto subjected them, and by the inhabitants of New England, in the cessation of his attempts to supersede by a similar despotism the liberal institutions which they had hitherto enjoyed. He would doubtless now have cordially consented to disencumber himself of his adversaries by promoting the emigration which he had so imprudently obstructed: but such a revolution of sentiment had now taken place in England, and such interesting prospects began to open to the patriots and puritans at home, that the motives which had formerly induced them to migrate to the new world ceased any longer to prevail.

1640.

State of New England—population—laws—manners.

When the intercourse which had for twenty years subsisted between the colony and the parent state underwent this modification, the number of the inhabitants of New England appears to have amounted to about twenty-one thousand persons[3], or four thousand families, including about a hun-

[2] Hutchinson, i. 87, and Appendix, No. v. Chalmers, p. 162. This year (1638) was distinguished by an earthquake in New England, which extended through all the settlements, and shook the ships in Boston harbour and the neighbouring islands. The sound of it reminded some of the colonists of the rattling of coaches in the streets of London. Winthrop's Journal, 155. Trumbull, i. 93.

This work had been for some time in the press, when an opportunity was afforded me (by the kindness of my friend Mr. Herschel) of examining a recent American publication entitled "The History of New England from 1630 to 1649," by Governor Winthrop, of which a copy had been sent as a present to the Royal Society of London. It is a republication of Winthrop's Journal (which I had already consulted at Gottingen), with the lately discovered continuation of it till 1649. Mr. Savage, the editor, has bestowed much labour and learning on the illustration of a work which I think hardly deserved such care.

[3] Josselyn's Voyage to New England, p. 258. Hutchinson, i. 93. Neal's error, in computing the number of the settlers at only 4000, seems to have been occasioned by the mistake or inaccuracy of Dr. Mather in mentioning that number of planters or heads of families in such terms as seem to comprehend the whole body of the inhabitants. It is amply refuted by his own and the other accounts of the particulars of the several emigrations. In the "History of New England from 1628 till 1652," (published at London in 1654) it is stated that prior to the year 1643 there had sailed for New England 298 ships and 21,200 emigrants, p. 31.

Josselyn, who visited New England more than once, was intrusted by Quarles the poet with some of his metrical versions of Scripture to be submitted to the perusal and consideration of Mr. Cotton. Josselyn, p. 20.

dred ministers. The money that had been expended during that period in equipping vessels and transporting emigrants, amounted to nearly two hundred thousand pounds—a prodigious sum in that age, and which nothing but the noble and unconquerable principle that animated the puritans could have persuaded men to expend on the prospect of forming an establishment in a remote uncultivated desert, which offered to its inhabitants only a naked freedom and difficult subsistence. When the civil wars commenced, the colonists had already planted fifty towns and villages; they had erected upwards of thirty churches and ministers' houses; and combining with their preponderating regard to the concerns of religion, a diligent and judicious conduct of their temporal affairs, they had improved their plantations to a high degree of cultivation. For the first seven years after the foundation of the settlement that was made in 1630, even subsistence was procured with difficulty, and trade was not generally attempted[4]: but soon after that period, they began to extend their fishery and to open a trade in lumber, which subsequently proved the staple article of the colonial commerce. In the year 1637 there were but thirty ploughs in the whole colony of Massachusetts; and less than the third of that number in Connecticut. The culture of the earth was generally performed with hoes, and was consequently very slow and laborious. Every commodity bore a high price. Valuable as money was at that period, the price of a good cow was thirty pounds; Indian corn cost five shillings a bushel; labour and every other article of use was proportionably dear. Necessity at first introduced what the jurisprudence of the colonists afterwards confirmed; and desiring to perpetuate the

[4] Yet in the year 1636 a ship of 120 tons was built at Marblehead by the people of Salem. Collections of the Massachusetts' Hist. Soc. vi. 232.

BOOK II. habits that had proved so conducive to piety and virtue, they endeavoured by legislative enactments to exclude luxury and promote industry. When the assembling of the long parliament opened a prospect of safety, and even of triumph and supremacy to the puritans in England, a number of those who had taken refuge in America returned to their native country: but the great majority of the settlers had experienced so much of the life and happiness of religion in the societies that had sprung up and the mode of living that had been formed in the colony, that they felt themselves united to New England by stronger ties than any that patriotic recollections could supply, and resolved to remain in the region which their virtue had converted from a wilderness into a garden. In an infant colony, where all hearts were strongly united by community of feeling on subjects the most interesting and important, where the inhabitants were in general very nearly on a level in point of temporal condition, and where the connexions of neighbourhood were but extended family ties, the minds of men were warmed and invigorated by a freedom and simplicity of mutual communication unrepressed by the restraints of ceremony, or the withering influence of that spirit of sarcasm, and that dread of ridicule, which operate so powerfully in crowded and highly polished societies. And yet some indications of an aristocratical disposition, arising, not unnaturally, out of some of the peculiar circumstances in the formation of the colony, did occasionally manifest themselves. Several of the first planters, particularly Dudley, Winslow, Winthrop, Bradford, Bellingham, and Bradstreet, were gentlemen of considerable fortune, and besides the transportation of their own families, they had incurred the expense of transporting many poor families who must otherwise have remained in England. Others were

1640.

members of the original body of patentees, and had incurred expenses in the procurement of the charter, the formation of the company, and the equipment of the first body of adventurers, of which they had now no prospect of obtaining indemnification. It was probably owing to the prevalence of the peculiar sentiments which these persons may very well be supposed to have entertained, that in the first general court that was held in the colony, the election of the governor, the appointment of all the other officers, and even the power of legislation, were withdrawn from the freemen, and vested in the council of assistants; and although the freemen reclaimed and renewed their rights in the following year, yet the exercise of legislation was confined almost entirely to the council of assistants, till the introduction of the representative system in the year 1634. From this time the council and the freemen, assembled together, formed one general court, till the year 1644, when it was ordained that the governor and assistants should sit apart; and thence commenced the separate existence of the democratic branch of the legislature, or house of representatives. Elections were conducted by *ballot*, in which the balls or tickets tendered by the electors were appointed to consist of Indian beans [5].

CHAP. II. 1640.

Some notice of the peculiarities of legislation that already prevailed in the various communities of New England, seems proper to illustrate the state of society and manners among this singular people. By a fundamental law of Massachusetts it was enacted, "that all strangers professing the christian religion, who shall flee to this country from the tyranny of their persecutors, shall be succoured at the public charge till some provision can be made for them." Jesuits and popish priests, however, were subjected to banish-

[5] Winthrop's Journal, 114. Neal, i. 194. 199. Hutchinson, i. 25. 91—4. Chalmers, 166. Trumbull, i. 78. Holmes's American Annals, i. 271.

BOOK II. 1640.

ment, and in case of their return, to death. This persecuting law was afterwards extended to the quakers; and all persons were forbidden, under the severest penalties, to import any of "that cursed sect," or of their writings, into the colony. By what provocations the quakers of that period excited these severities, we shall have an opportunity of considering hereafter. These persecuting edicts had no place in Rhode Island, where none were subjected to active molestation for religious opinions, and all were admitted to the full rights of citizenship except Roman catholics. The usual punishments of great crimes were disfranchisement, banishment, and servitude: but slavery was not permitted to be inflicted upon any except captives lawfully taken in the wars; and these were to be treated with the gentleness of christian manners, and to be entitled to all the mitigations of their lot enjoined by the law of Moses. Disclaiming all but defensive war, the colonists considered themselves entitled and constrained in self-defence to deprive their assailants of a liberty which they had abused and rendered inconsistent with the safety of their neighbours. The practice, however, was highly impolitic, and served to pave the way, at a later period, for the introduction of negro slavery into New England.

Adultery was punished by death; and fornication by compelling the offending parties to marry (an absurd device, which served to degrade the institution of marriage), or by fine and imprisonment. Burglary or robbery was punished, for the first offence by branding, for the second with the superaddition of a severe flogging, and for the third with death: but if either of these crimes, while yet not inferring a capital punishment, were committed on Sunday, an ear was to be cut off in addition to the other inflictions. We must beware of supposing that these

penal enactments indicate the existence, much less the frequency, of the crimes to which they refer. In those communities where civilization has been a gradual attainment, penal laws denote the prevalence of the crimes they condemn. But in the colonial establishments of a civilized people, many of the laws must be regarded merely as the expression of the opinion of the legislators, and by no means as indicating the actual condition of society. Blasphemy and idolatry were punishable with death; and though it was acknowledged in the preamble to one of the laws, "that no human power is lord over the faith and consciences of men," yet heresy, by this very law, was punished with banishment from the province. Witchcraft, and perjury directed against human life, were capitally punished. No capital charge was deemed capable of being proved by evidence less weighty than the oaths of two witnesses—a regulation that deserves to be universally established, as well on account of its own intrinsic soundness, as of its original derivation from the wisdom of the Creator and searcher of human hearts. CHAP. III. 1640.

All gaming was prohibited; cards and dice were forbidden to be imported, and dancing in ordinaries was proscribed. By a law enacted in 1646, kissing a woman in the street, even in the way of civil salute, was punished by flogging. This law was executed about a century afterwards, on the captain of an English man of war, for saluting his wife, whom he met, after a long separation, in the streets of Boston. Flogging was not considered an infamous punishment by the people of Massachusetts; and even so late as the middle of the eighteenth century, there were instances of persons who after undergoing this punishment, have associated with the most respectable circles of society in Boston. The economy of inns was regulated with a strictness that deserves to be noted as

BOOK III.

1640.

explanatory of a circumstance that has frequently excited the surprise of European travellers in America. The intemperance and immorality which these places are apt to promote, was punished with the utmost rigour; and all innkeepers were required, under the severest penalties, to restrain the excesses of their guests, or to acquaint the magistrate with their perpetration. For the more effectual enforcement of this law, it was judged expedient that innkeepers should be divested of the temptation that poverty presents to its infraction, and enjoy such personal consideration as would facilitate the exercise of their difficult duty; and, accordingly, none were permitted to follow this calling but persons of approved character and competent estate. One of the consequences of this policy has been, that an employment very little respected in other countries, has ever been creditable in the highest degree in New England, and not unfrequently pursued by men who have retired from the most honourable stations in the civil or military service of the state.

Persons wearing apparel which the grand jury should account unsuitable to their estate, were to be admonished in the first instance, and if contumacious, fined [6]. Idleness, lying, swearing, and drunkenness, were subjected to various penalties and marks of disgrace [7]. Usury was forbidden; and the prohibition was

[6] The regulation of apparel was considered a fit subject of public police in England as late as the reign of Elizabeth, who, by a proclamation, appointed watches of grave citizens to be stationed at the gates of London in order to circumscribe with their scissors all the ruffs of passengers that exceeded certain legal dimensions. Stow. Chron. 869. By an act passed in the thirteenth year of the same sovereign's reign, hats were considered as a luxury; and all persons under a certain age commanded to wear woollen caps. In the churchwardens' accounts of the parish of Fulham is this item: "1678, paid for the discharge of the parish for wearing hats, contrary to the statute, 5s. 2d."

[7] That these laws were not allowed to be a dead letter, appears from the following extracts from the earliest records of the colonial court. "John Wedgewood, *for being in the company of drunkards*, to be set in the stocks. Catharine, the wife of Richard Cornish, was found *suspicious of incontinency*, and seriously admonished to take heed. Thomas Petit, for *suspicion* of slander, idleness, and stubbornness, is censured to be severely whipped. Captain Lovel admonished to take heed of *light carriage*. Josias Plaistowe, for stealing four baskets of corn

not confined to the interest of money, but extended to the hire of labouring cattle and implements of husbandry. Persons deserting the English settlements, and living in heathen freedom and profanity, were punished by fine and imprisonment. A male child above sixteen years of age, accused by his parents of rebellion against them and other notorious offences, was (in conformity with the Mosaic code) subjected to capital punishment; and any person courting a maid without the sanction of her parents, was fined and imprisoned. Yet the parental authority was not left unregulated. All parents were commanded to instruct and catechise their children and servants, whom the select men or overseers were directed to remove from their authority and commit to fitter hands, if they were found deficient in this duty[8]; and children were allowed to seek redress from the magistrate if they were denied convenient marriage. The celebration of the ceremony of marriage was confined to the magistrate or such other persons as the general court should authorize. Their law of tenures was exceedingly simple and concise. The charter had conveyed the general territory to the company and its assigns: and it was very early enacted, "that five years' quiet possession shall be deemed a sufficient title." Instead of enacting or in-

from the Indians, is ordered to return them eight baskets, to be fined five pounds, and hereafter to be called by the name of Josias, and not Mr., as formerly he used to be." Hutchinson, p. 436. Few obtained the title of Mr. in the colony: still fewer that of Esquire. Goodman and goodwife were the common appellations. It was to merit and services, rather than wealth, that the distinctive appellations were given. Ibid. The strictness and scrupulosity of manners affected by many of the inhabitants exceeded the standard of the laws: and associations appear to have been formed for suppressing the drinking of healths, and wearing of long hair and of periwigs. Ibid. 151. In some instances, the purposes of these associations were afterwards adopted and enforced by the laws. It is related of some of the earlier settlers, that with a most absurd exaggeration of rigidity, they refrained from brewing on Saturday, because the beer would *work* upon Sunday. Douglas, Summary of the British Settlements in America, i. 371.

[8] Such regulations were not unknown in Scotland. So late as the year 1678, a law was enacted by the corporation of the town of Rutherglen, commanding all parents to send their children to school, and adjudging that the schoolmaster should be entitled to his fees for every child in the parish, whether sent to his school or not. Ure's History of Rutherglen, p. 79.

BOOK II. 1640.

tending that the deficiencies of their legislative code should be supplied by the common or statute law of England, it was declared, that when the customs of the commonwealth were found defective, recourse should be had to the word of God [9].

Like the tribes of Israel, the colonists of New England had forsaken their native land after a long and severe bondage, and journeyed into a wilderness for the sake of religion. They endeavoured to cherish a resemblance of condition, so honourable and so fraught with incitements to piety, by cultivating a conformity between their laws and customs and those which had distinguished the people of God. Hence arose some of the peculiarities which we have observed in their legislative code; and hence arose also the practice of commencing their sabbatical observances on Saturday evening, and of accounting every evening the commencement of the ensuing day. The same predilection for Jewish customs begot, or at least promoted, among them the habit of bestowing significant names on children, of whom the first three that were baptised in Boston church received the names of Joy, Recompense, and Pity. This custom seems to have prevailed with the greatest force in the town of Dorchester, which long continued to be remarkable for such names as Faith, Hope, Charity, Deliverance, Dependence, Preserved, Content, Prudent, Patience, Thankful, Hate-evil, Hold-fast, and others of a similar character [1].

[9] Abridgment of the Ordinances of New England, *apud* Neal, ii. Append. iv. p. 665, &c. Trumbull, i. 124. Josselyn, 178. Burnaby's Travels in America, 147. Chalmers, 167, 8. 276. Winthrop's Hist. (Savage's edition), i. 73. The primitive rigidity discernible in some of these laws was tempered by a patriarchal benevolence of administration. Many instances of this occur in Mather's Lives of the Governors. One I may be permitted to notice as a specimen. Governor Winthrop being urged to prosecute and punish a man who pillaged his magazine of firewood in winter, declared he would soon cure him of that malpractice: and, accordingly, sending for the delinquent, he told him, "You have a large family, and I have a large magazine of wood; come as often to it as you please, and take as much of it as you need to make your dwelling comfortable.—And now," he added, turning to his friends, "I defy him to steal my firewood again."

[1] History of the British Dominions in America, B. ii. cap. 2. sec. 10.

CHAPTER III.

New England embraces the Cause of the Parliament.—Federal Union between the New England States.—Provincial Coinage of Money.—Disputes occasioned by the Disfranchisement of Dissenters in Massachusetts.—Impeachment and Trial of Governor Winthrop.—Arbitrary Proceedings against the Dissenters.—Attempts to convert and civilize the Indians.—Character and Labours of Elliot and Mayhew.—Indian Bible printed in Massachusetts.—Effects of the Missionary Labour.—A Synod of the New England Churches.—Dispute between Massachusetts and the Long Parliament.—The Colony foils the Parliament—and is favoured by Cromwell.—The Protector's Administration beneficial to New England.—He conquers Acadie.—His Propositions to the Inhabitants of Massachusetts—declined by them.—Persecution of the Anabaptists in Massachusetts.—Conduct and Sufferings of the Quakers.—The Restoration.—Address of Massachusetts to Charles the Second.—Alarm of the Colonists—their Declaration of Rights.—The King's Message to Massachusetts—how far complied with.—Royal Charter of Incorporation to Rhode Island and Providence—and to Connecticut and Newhaven.

CHAP. III.

THE coincidence between the principles of the colonists and the prevailing party in the Long Parliament, was cemented by the consciousness, that with the success of this body was identified the defence of the colonial liberties from the dangers that had so recently menaced them. As soon as the colonists were informed of the convocation of that famous assembly, they despatched Hugh Peters and two other persons to promote the colonial interests in England. The mission terminated more fortunately for the colony than for its ambassadors. By a vote of the House of Commons[1] in the following year, the in-

1641. New England embraces the cause of the parliament.

1642.

[1] The reasons assigned by the House for this resolution are, that the plantations of New England are likely to conduce to the propagation of the gospel, and

BOOK II.

1642.

habitants of all the various plantations of New England were exempted from payment of any duties, either upon goods exported thither, or upon those which they imported into the mother country, "until the House shall take further order therein to the contrary." The colonists, in return, cordially embraced the cause of their benefactors; and when the civil wars broke out in England, they passed an ordinance expressive of their approbation of the measures of parliament, and denouncing capital punishment against any who should disturb the peace of the commonwealth by endeavouring to raise a party for the King of England, or by discriminating between the king and the parliament, who truly maintained the cause of the king as well as their own. Happily for themselves, they were unable to signalize their predilection by more active interference in the contest; and, with a wise regard to their commercial interests, they gave free ingress into their harbours to trading vessels from the ports in possession of the king. They had likewise the good sense to decline an invitation that was sent to them, to depute Mr. Cotton, and others of their ministers, to attend, on their behalf, the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. Encouraged by the privileges that had been conferred on them, their industry made vigorous progress, and population rapidly increased. From the continent, they began to extend their occupation to the adjacent islands; and Mr. Mayhew, having obtained a grant of Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and Elizabeth Isles, laid the foundation there of settlements that afterwards proved eminently serviceable to the conversion and civilization of the Indians. But an attempt which they made at the

already "have by the blessing of the Almighty had good and prosperous success *without any public charge to the state.*" Yet, a few years after, the parliament expressed a different opinion of the obligations of Virginia to the endowment of the mother country, though, in this respect, the situation of the two colonies was precisely the same.

same time to extend, if not their settlements, at least their principles, in another quarter of the continent, proved quite unsuccessful. The colonists of Virginia were in general stanch royalists, and, with comparatively little of the substance of religion, united a strong attachment to the forms and constitutions of the church of England. Yet, as we have seen, they had received, even as early as the reign of James, an accession to their numbers, composed of persons who had imbibed puritan sentiments, and had fled from ecclesiastical persecution in England. A deputation from this portion of the Virginian settlers had been lately sent to Boston to represent their destitution of a gospel ministry, and solicit a supply of ministers from the New England churches. In compliance with this request, three clergymen were selected to proceed to Virginia, and furnished with recommendatory letters from the governor of Massachusetts to Sir William Berkeley. On their arrival in Virginia, they began to preach in several parts of the country, and the people flocked to hear them with an eagerness that might have been productive of important consequences. But the puritan principles, no less than the political sentiments of the colonists of New England, were too much the objects of aversion to Sir William Berkeley to admit of his encouragement being extended to proceedings so calculated to propagate their influence among his own people. So far from complying with the desire of his brother governor, he issued an order by which all persons who would not conform to the ceremonies of the church of England were commanded to depart from Virginia by a certain day. The preachers returned to their own settlement; and thus was laid the foundation of a jealousy which long subsisted between the two oldest colonies of North America[2].

CHAP. III. 1642.

[2] Hutchinson, i. 98. 114—116. Neal, i. 199, 200. Hazard, 526.

BOOK II.

1643.

The failure of this endeavour to establish a friendly intercourse with the sister colony of Virginia, was amply compensated to the New England settlements by an important event in their history, which occurred during the following year; the formation of a league by which they were knit together in the frame of a confederacy that greatly increased their security and power. The Naraganset Indians had by this time had ample leisure to reflect on the policy of their conduct towards the Pequods; and the hatred which they had formerly cherished against that tribe being extinguished in the destruction of its objects, had been succeeded by an angry jealousy of those strangers who had obviously derived the chief and only advantage of which that event was productive. They saw the territories of their ancient rivals occupied by a much more powerful neighbour; and, mistaking their own inability to improve their advantages for the effect of fraud and injustice on the part of the colonists, who were so rapidly surpassing them in number, wealth, and power, they began to complain that the plunder of the Pequods had not been fairly divided, and proceeded to concert measures with the neighbouring tribes for an universal insurrection of the Indians against the English. Their designs had advanced but a little way towards maturity, when they were detected in consequence of a sudden gust of that inordinate passion of private revenge which seemed fated to pervert and defeat their political views. The colonists, from the groundless murmurs they found themselves exposed to, and which proved only the rooted dislike of the savages, were sensible of their own danger without yet being aware of its extent, or feeling themselves entitled to anticipate some more certain indication of it; when, happily, they were called upon to act as umpires between two contending tribes. The

CHAP. III.

Naragansets having conceived some disgust against a neighbouring chief, employed an assassin to kill him; and failing in this attempt, plunged into a war with the declared intention of exterminating the whole of his tribe. This tribe, who were at peace with the English, sent their chief to implore the protection of the Massachusetts colonists, who promised their interposition in his behalf. The Naragansets, apprised of this proceeding, recollecting the fate of the Pequods, and aware how well they deserved to share it, were struck with terror, and throwing down their arms, concluded a peace dictated to them by the English. When they found the danger blown over, they paid so little attention to the performance of their paction, that it was not till the colonists had made a demonstration of their readiness to employ force that they sullenly fulfilled it. Alarmed by such indications of fickleness, dislike, and furious passion, the government of Massachusetts deemed it prudent to provide by a mutual concert of the colonies, for the common danger which they might expect to encounter at no distant day, when the savages, instructed by experience, would sacrifice their private feuds to combined hostility against a people whose progressive advancement seemed to minister occasion of incurable jealousy. Having conceived, for this purpose, a plan which was framed in imitation of the bond of union among the Dutch provinces, and which readily suggested itself to some of their leading characters who had resided with the Brownist congregation in Holland, they proposed it to the neighbouring settlements of Plymouth, Connecticut, and Newhaven, by which it was cordially embraced. These four colonies accordingly entered into a league of perpetual confederacy, offensive and defensive. It was stipulated that the confederates should thenceforth be distin-

1643.

Federal union between the New England States.

May 19.

BOOK II. 1643.

guished by the title of the United Colonies of New England; that each colony should remain separate and distinct, and have exclusive jurisdiction within its own territory; that in every war, offensive or defensive, each of the confederates should furnish its quota of men, money, and provisions, at a rate to be fixed from time to time in proportion to the number of people in each settlement; that an assembly composed of two commissioners from each colony should be held annually, with power to deliberate and decide on all points of common concern to the confederacy; and every determination sanctioned by the concurrence of six of their number, should be binding on the whole. The state of Rhode Island, which was not included in this confederacy, having petitioned a few years after to be admitted into it, her request was refused, except on the condition, which she declined, of merging her separate existence in an incorporation with the state of Plymouth. Thus excluded from the protection of the league or union, the inhabitants of Rhode Island and Providence endeavoured to provide for their security by conciliating the friendship of the Indians; and in the prosecution of their humane and courteous policy they were eminently successful [3].

The colonists have been reproached with arrogating the rights of sovereignty in this transaction, which truly may be regarded as a considerable step to independence. Yet it was a measure that could hardly be avoided by a people surrounded with enemies, and abandoned to their own resources in a territory many thousand miles removed from the seat of the government that claimed sovereign dominion over them. Every step that a people so situated made in enlarging their numbers, combining their resources, or other-

[3] Increase Mather's New England Troubles, p. 56. 59. Neal, i. 201—211. Hutchinson, i. 124, 5.

wise promoting their security, was a step towards independence. Nothing but some politic system, or a series of events that might have kept the various settlements continually disunited in mutual jealousy and weakness, could have secured their perpetual existence as a dependent progeny of England. But whatever effects the transaction which we have considered may have secretly produced on the course of American sentiment and opinion, and however likely it may now appear to have planted the seminal idea of independence in the minds of the colonists, it was regarded neither by themselves nor by their English rulers as indicating pretensions unsuitable to their condition. Even after the Restoration, the commissioners of the union were repeatedly noticed and recognised in the letters and official instruments of Charles the Second; and the union itself with some alterations subsisted till the year 1686, when all the charters were in effect vacated by a commission from King James. A few years after its establishment, the principal concern to which its efforts and deliberations were devoted was the conversion of the Indians, in co-operation with the society instituted by parliament in Britain for propagating the gospel in New England [4].

CHAP. III. 1643.

While the colonists were thus employed in measures calculated to secure and protect their institutions, the parliament passed an ordinance carrying a most formidable aspect, and fraught with consequences the most injurious to their rights. It appointed the Earl of Warwick governor-in-chief, and lord high admiral of the colonies, with a council of five peers and twelve commoners to assist him: it empowered him, in conjunction with his associates, to examine the state of affairs in the colonies; to send for papers and persons; to remove governors

[4] Hutchinson, i. 126.

BOOK II. 1643. and officers, and to appoint others in their place, and delegate to them as much of the power granted to himself by the ordinance as he should think proper. This appointment, which created an authority that might have new-modelled all the colonial governments, and abrogated all their charters, was not suffered to remain entirely inoperative. To some of the settlements the parliamentary council extended protection, and even granted new patents [5]. Happily for Massachusetts, either the favour which it was thought to deserve, or the absorbing interest of the great contest that was carrying on in England, prevented the council from interfering with its institutions till a period when the colonial assembly were able, as we shall see, to employ defensive measures that defeated its undesirable interposition without disputing its formidable authority.

1644. Various disputes had subsisted between the inhabitants of New England and the French settlers in Acadie. These were at length adjusted by a treaty between a commissioner for the King of France on the one part, and *John Endicot, esq. governor of New England, and the rest of the magistrates there*, on the other [6]. The colonists had already debarred themselves from recognising the king as distinct from the parliament; and they probably found it difficult to explain to the other contracting parties to what denomination of authority they considered themselves to owe allegiance. This state of things, as it led to practices, so it may have secretly fostered sentiments, that savoured of independence. A practice strongly fraught with the character of sovereign authority was adopted a few years after, when the increasing trade of the colony with the West Indies, and the quan-

Provincial coinage of money.

[5] Journals of the House of Lords, vol. vi. p. 291. Chalmers, 175, 6. The people of Maine appear to have solicited the protection of the council in 1651. Hazard, 559.

[6] Hutchinson, i. 132.

tity of Spanish bullion that was brought through this channel into New England, induced the colonial authorities, for the purpose of preventing frauds in the employment of the circulating medium in this inconvenient shape, to erect a mint for the coining of silver money at Boston. The coin was stamped with the name of New England on the one side, of Massachusetts, as the principal settlement, on the other, and with a tree as an apt symbol of the progressive vigour which the colony had evinced. Maryland was the only other colony that ever presumed to coin any metal into money: and indeed this prerogative has been always regarded as the peculiar attribute of sovereignty. "But it must be considered," says one of the colonial historians, "that at this time there was no King in Israel." In the distracted state of England it might well be judged unsafe to send their bullion there to be coined; and from the uncertainty respecting the form of government which might finally arise out of the civil wars, it might reasonably be apprehended that an impress received during their continuance would not long retain its favour and currency. The practice gave no umbrage whatever to the English government. It received the tacit allowance of the parliament, of Cromwell, and even of Charles the Second during twenty years of his reign [7].

CHAP. III. 1644.

The separation of the two branches of the legislature of Massachusetts naturally gave rise to some disputes respecting the boundaries of jurisdiction in a constitution not yet matured by practice. But what precedent could not supply, the influence and estimation of the clergy of the province was able to effect. By common consent, all the ministers were summoned to attend the session of the assembly, and the points at issue being submitted to them, their judgment was

1645.

[7] Hutchinson, i. 177, 8.

BOOK II.

1646.

willingly embraced and assented to[8]. But in the following year a dissension much more violent in its nature, and much less creditable and satisfactory in its issue, was occasioned in this state by the intolerance which we have already noted in its original institutions. With the increasing prosperity and importance of the colony, the value of its political franchises had been proportionably augmented; and the increasing opulence and respectability of the dissenters seemed to aggravate the hardship of the disfranchisement to which they were subjected. Some of these having violently assumed the privileges from which they were excluded by law, and disturbed an election by their interference, were punished by Mr. Winthrop, the deputy governor, who vigorously resisted and defeated their pretensions. They complained of this treatment to the general court by a petition couched in very strong language, demanding leave to impeach the deputy governor before the whole body of his fellow-citizens, and to submit to the same tribunal the consideration of their general grievances, as well as of the particular severities they had experienced from Winthrop. The grievances under which they laboured were enumerated in the petition, which contained a forcible remonstrance against the injustice of depriving them of their rights as freemen, and of their privileges as christians, because they could not join as members with the con-

Disputes occasioned by the disfranchisement of dissenters in Massachusetts.

[8] Hutchinson, i. 143, 4. One of the controversies that had occurred at this time between the two houses originated in a matter not more illustrious, than a difference of sentiment respecting the identity of *a sow*, which was claimed from the herd of a richer neighbour by a poor woman, who pretended that it had strayed from her some years before. Behold how great a matter a little fire will kindle! Not the court only, but the whole country was divided by this question, which, poverty concurring with resentment of imposition on the one part, and indignation at a charge that affected his character on the other, induced the parties to contest with the utmost rage and pertinacity. The identity of *Martin Guerre* was not more keenly controverted in France. Compassion for the poor woman prevailed with the poorer class of people over all sense of equity: and, at length, even those magistrates who considered the defendant in the right, concurred in persuading him to surrender the object of dispute, and to forbear to seek his own at the expense of the tranquillity of the colony.

CHAP. III.

1646.

gregational churches, or when they solicited admission into them were arbitrarily rejected by the ministers. They petitioned that, either the full rights of citizenship might be communicated to them, or that they might no longer be required to obey laws to which they had not given assent,—to contribute to the maintenance of ministers who denied them the benefit of their ministry, and to pay taxes imposed by an assembly in which they were not represented. The court were so far moved by the petition, or by the respectability of its promoters, that Mr. Winthrop was commanded to defend himself publicly from the charges which it advanced against him.

Impeachment and trial of Governor Winthrop.

On the day appointed for his trial he descended from the tribunal, and placing himself at the bar in presence of a numerous assemblage of the inhabitants, he proceeded to vindicate his conduct to his judges and fellow citizens. Having clearly proved that his proceedings had been warranted by law, and had no other end than to maintain the existing institutions, by the exercise of the authority which had been committed to him for that purpose, he concluded an excellent harangue in the following manner[a]. "Though I be justified before men, yet it may be the Lord hath seen so much amiss in my administration as calls me to be humbled: and indeed for me to have been thus charged by men is a matter of humiliation, whereof I desire to make a right use before the Lord. If Miriam's father spit in her face, she is to be ashamed." Then proceeding to enforce some considerations calculated, he said, to rectify the opinions of the people on the nature of government: "The questions," he observed, "that have troubled the country have been about the authority of the

[a] Various editions of this speech have been published. It appears now, from the continuation of Winthrop's own journal (edited by Mr. Savage), that all these were abridgments. Mather's, which I have followed, is the best.

BOOK II. 1646.

magistracy and the liberty of the people. It is you who have called us unto this office; but being thus called we have our authority from God. Magistracy is the ordinance of God, and it hath the image of God stamped upon it; and the contempt of it has been vindicated by God with terrible examples of his vengeance. I entreat you to consider that when you choose magistrates, you take them from among yourselves, men subject unto like passions with yourselves. If you see our infirmities, reflect on your own, and you will not be so severe censurers of ours. The covenant between us and you is the oath you have exacted of us, which is to this purpose, '*That we shall govern you and judge your causes according to God's laws and the particular statutes of the land, according to our best skill.*' As for our skill, you must run the hazard of it; and if there be an error only therein, and not in the will, it becomes you to bear it. Nor would I have you to mistake in the point of your own liberty. There is a liberty of corrupt nature, which is affected both by men and beasts, to do what they list. This liberty is inconsistent with authority; impatient of all restraint (by this liberty *sumus omnes deteriores*): 'tis the grand enemy of truth and peace, and all the ordinances of God are bent against it. But there is a civil, a moral, a federal liberty, which is the proper end and object of authority: it is a liberty for that only which is just and good. For this liberty you are to stand with the hazard of your very lives; and whatsoever crosses it is not authority but a distemper thereof. This liberty is maintained in a way of subjection to authority; and the authority set over you will, in all administrations for your good, be quietly submitted unto by all but such as have a disposition to shake off the yoke, and lose their true liberty by their murmuring at the honour and power of authority."

CHAP. III.

The circumstances in which this address was delivered, remind us of scenes in Greek and Roman history; while the wisdom, worth, and dignity that it breathes, resemble the magnanimous vindication of a judge of Israel. Mr. Winthrop was not only honourably acquitted by the sentence of the court and the voice of the public, but recommended so powerfully to the esteem of his fellow-citizens by this and all the other indications of his character, that he was chosen governor of the province every year after as long as he lived [1]. His accusers incurred a proportional degree of public displeasure: their petition was dismissed, and several of the chief promoters of it severely reprimanded, and adjudged to make confession of their fault in seeking to subvert the fundamental laws of the colony. Refusing to acknowledge that they had done wrong, and still persisting in their demands of an alteration of the law, with very indiscreet threats of complaining to the parliament, they were punished with fine or imprisonment. As several of these persons were known to be inclined to the form of presbytery, and as that constitution was also affected by the prevailing party in the English House of Commons, the menace of a complaint to parliament excited general alarm and indignation; and several of the petitioners having made preparations to sail for England, with very significant hints of the changes they hoped to effect by their machinations there, some of them were placed under arrest, and their papers were violently taken from them. Among these papers were found petitions to Lord

1646.

Arbitrary proceedings against the dissenters.

[1] This excellent magistrate (says Cotton Mather) continually exemplified the maxim of Theodosius, that *If any man speak evil of the ruler, if it be through lightness, 'tis to be contemned; if it be through madness, 'tis to be pitied; if through malice, 'tis to be forgiven.* One of the colonists who had long manifested much ill will towards his person, at length wrote to him, "Sir, your overcoming of yourself hath overcome me." His death, in 1649, was deeply and universally bewailed; and all declared that he had been the father of the colony, and the first no less in virtue than in place. Mather, B. iv.

BOOK II. 1646.

Warwick, urging a forfeiture of the colonial charter, the introduction of a presbyterian establishment, and of the whole code of English jurisprudence, into the colonial institutions, with various other innovations, which were represented as no less accordant with legislative wisdom and justice, than adapted to the important end of securing and effectuating the supreme dominion of the parliament over the colony. The discovery of the intolerance meditated by these persons served to exasperate the intolerance which themselves were experiencing from the society of which they formed but an insignificant fraction. The contents of their papers excited so much resentment that not a voice was raised against the arbitrary measure by which they had been intercepted; and the alarm was increased by the conviction of the utter impossibility of preventing designs so dangerous from being still attempted. The warmth of the public sentiment, as well as the peculiar nature of the subject that had excited it, introduced this all-prevalent topic into the pulpit; and even Mr. Cotton was so far overtaken with infirmity, as to declare, in a sermon, "That if any one should carry writings or complaints against the people of God in this country to England, he would find himself in the case of Jonas in the vessel." This was a prediction which a long voyage was very likely to realize. In effect, a short time after, certain deputies from the petitioners having embarked for England, were overtaken by a violent storm, and the sailors recollecting the prediction that had gone abroad, and, happily, considering the papers, and not the bearers of them, as the guilty parties, insisted so vehemently on casting all obnoxious writings overboard, that the deputies were compelled to commit their credentials to the waves. When they arrived in England, however, they did not fail to prosecute their application; but the at-

tention of the parliamentary leaders at that time being deeply engaged with more important matters, and Winslow and Hugh Peters, on behalf of the colony, actively labouring to counteract their purposes, they obtained little attention and no redress [2].

CHAP. III.

1646.

From the painful contemplation of the intolerance of the colonists, and their inordinate contentions about the forms of religion, it is pleasing to turn to the substantial fruits of christian character evinced by those noble exertions for the conversion of the Indians that originated in the same year that had witnessed so much dissension and violence. The circumstances that had promoted the emigrations to New England, had operated with particular force on the ministers of the puritans; and so many of them had accompanied the other settlers, that among a people who derived less enjoyment from the exercises of piety, the numbers of the clergy would have been thought exceedingly burdensome and very much disproportioned to the wants of the laity. This circumstance was highly favourable to the promotion of religious habits among the colonists, as well as to the extension of their settlements, in the plantation of which the cooperation of a minister was considered indispensable. It contributed also to suggest and facilitate missionary labour among the heathens, to whom the colonists had associated themselves by superadding the ties of a common country to those of a common nature. While the people at large were daily extending their industry, and overcoming by cultivation the rudeness of desert nature, the clergy eagerly looked around for some addition to their peculiar sphere of usefulness, and at a very early period entertained designs of redeeming to the dominion of piety and civility, the neglected wastes of

Attempts to convert and civilize the Indians.

[2] Mather, B. ii. cap. 4. Neal, i. 213—216. Hutchinson, i. 145—149. Chalmers, 170—181.

BOOK II.

human character, that lay stretched in savage ignorance and idolatry around them. John Elliot, one of the ministers of Roxbury, a man whose large soul glowed with the intensest flame of zeal and charity, was strongly penetrated with a sense of this duty, and for some time had been diligently labouring to overcome the preliminary difficulty by which its performance was obstructed. He had now at length attained such acquaintance with the Indian language as enabled him not only himself to speak it with fluency, but to facilitate the acquisition of it to others, by the construction and publication of a system of *Indian grammar*. Having completed his preparatory inquiries, he began, in the close of this year, a scene of labour which has been traced with great interest and accuracy by the ecclesiastical historians of New England, and still more minutely, I doubt not, in that eternal record where alone the actions of men attain their just, their final, and everlasting proportions. It is a remarkable feature in his long and arduous career, that the energy by which he was actuated never sustained the slightest abatement, but, on the contrary, evinced a steady and vigorous increase. He appears never to have doubted its continuance; but, constantly referring it to God, he felt assured of its derivation from a source incapable of being wasted by the most liberal communication. He delighted to maintain this communication by incessant prayer, and before his missionary labours commenced, he had been known in the colony by the name of "praying Elliot"—a noble designation, if the noblest employment of a rational creature be the cultivation of access to the Author of his being. Rarely, very rarely, I believe, has human nature been so completely embued, refined, and elevated by religion. Every thing he saw or knew occurred to him in a religious aspect: every faculty,

1646. Character and labours of Elliot and Mayhew.

October.

and every acquisition that he derived from the employment of his faculties, was received by him as a ray let into his soul from that Eternity for which he continually panted. As he was one of the holiest, so was he also one of the happiest of men; and his life for many years was a continual outpouring of his whole being in devotion to God and charity to mankind[3].

CHAP. III.

1646.

The kindness of Mr. Elliot's manner soon gained him a favourable hearing from many of the Indians[4]; and both parties being sensible of the expediency of altering the civil and domestic habits that counteracted the impressions which he attempted to produce, he obtained from the general court an allotment of land in the neighbourhood of the settlement of Concord, in Massachusetts, upon which a number of Indian families proceeded, by his directions, to build fixed habitations, and where they eagerly received his instructions both spiritual and secular. It was not long before a violent opposition to these innovations was excited by the powaws, or Indian priests, who threatened death and other inflictions of the vengeance of their idols on all who should embrace christianity. The menaces and artifices of these persons caused several of the seeming converts to draw back, but induced others to separate themselves more entirely from the society and converse of their countrymen, and seek the benefit and protection of a closer association with that superior race of men who showed themselves so generously willing to diffuse and communicate all the means and benefits of their supe-

[3] He died in the year 1690. As his bodily strength decayed, the energy of his being seemed to retreat into his soul, and at length all his faculties (he said) seemed absorbed in holy love. Being asked, shortly before his departure, how he did, he replied, "I have lost every thing: my understanding leaves me, my memory fails me, my utterance fails me; but I thank God my charity holds out still, I find that rather grows than fails." Richard Baxter declared that these words had given him inexpressible comfort, and that the account of Elliot's life, which he read when he himself was labouring under a dangerous illness, had recalled him from the brink of the grave. Mather, B. iii. Neal, ii. 470.

[4] See Note VII.

BOOK II.

1646.

riority. A considerable body of Indians resorted to the land allotted them by the colonial government, and exchanged their wild and barbarous habits for the modes of civilized living and industry. Mr. Elliot was continually among them, instructing, animating, and directing them. They felt his superior wisdom, and saw him continually happy; and there was nothing in his circumstances or appearance that indicated sources of enjoyment from which they were debarred; on the contrary, it was obvious that of every article of selfish comfort he was willing to divest himself in order to communicate to them what he esteemed the only true riches of an immortal being. He who gave him this spirit, gave him favour in the eyes of the people among whom he ministered; and their affection for him reminds us of those primitive ages when the converts were willing, as it were, to pluck out their eyes if they could have given them to their pastor. The women in the new settlement learned to spin, the men to dig and till the ground, and the children were instructed in the English language, and taught to read and write. As the numbers of domesticated Indians increased they built a town by the side of Charles River, which they called *Natick;* and they desired Mr. Elliot to frame a system of internal government for them. He directed their attention to the counsel that Jethro gave to Moses; and, in conformity with it, they elected for themselves rulers of hundreds, of fifties, and of tens. The colonial government also appointed a court which, without assuming jurisdiction over them, offered the assistance of its judicial wisdom to all who should be willing to refer to it the determination of their more difficult or important subjects of controversy. In endeavouring to extend their missionary influence among the surrounding tribes, Mr. Elliot and his associates encountered a variety of success

corresponding to the visible varieties of human character and the invisible predeterminations of the Divine will.[a] Many expressed the utmost abhorrence and contempt of christianity: some made a hollow profession of willingness to hear, and even of conviction, with the view, as it afterwards appeared, of obtaining the tools and other articles of value that were furnished to those who proposed to embrace the modes of civilized living. In spite of every discouragement the missionaries persisted; and the difficulties that at first mocked their efforts seeming at length to vanish under an invisible touch, their labours were blessed with astonishing success. The character and habits of the lay colonists tended to promote the efficacy of these pious labours, in a manner which will be forcibly appreciated by all who have examined the history and progress of missions. Simple in their manners, devout, moral, and industrious in their lives, they enforced the lessons of the missionaries by demonstrating their practicability and beneficial effects, and presented a model which, in point of refinement, was not too elevated for Indian imitation.

1646.

While Mr. Elliot and an increasing body of associates were thus employed in the province of Massachusetts, Thomas Mayhew, a man who combined in a wonderful degree an affectionate mildness that nothing could disturb with an ardour and activity that nothing could overcome, together with a few coadjutors, not less diligently and successfully prosecuted the same design in Martha's vineyard, Nantucket and Elizabeth Isles, and within the territory comprehended in the Plymouth patent. Abasing themselves that they might elevate their species and promote the Divine glory, they wrought with their own hands among those Indians whom they persuaded to forsake savage habits; and zealously employing all the influence they acquired to the communication of moral and

BOOK II. 1647.

spiritual improvement, their labours were eminently blessed by the same Power which had given them the grace so fully to devote themselves to his service. The character and manners of Mayhew appear to have been singularly calculated to excite the tenderness no less than the veneration of the objects of his benevolence, and to make them feel at once how amiable and how awful true goodness is. His address derived a captivating interest from that earnest concern, and high and holy value, which he manifestly entertained for every member of the family of mankind. Many years after his death the Indians could not hear his name mentioned without shedding tears and expressing transports of grateful emotion. Both Elliot and Mayhew found great advantage in the practice of selecting the most docile and ingenious of their Indian pupils, and by especial attention to their instruction, qualifying them to act as schoolmasters among their brethren. To a zeal that seemed to increase by exercise, they added insurmountable patience and admirable prudence; and, steadily fixing their view on the glory of the Most High, and declaring that, whether outwardly successful or not in promoting it, they felt themselves blessed and happy in pursuing it, they found its influence sufficient to light them through every perplexity and peril, and finally conduct them to a degree of success and victory unparalleled, perhaps, since that era when the miraculous endowments of the apostolic ministry caused a nation to be born in a day. They were slow to push the Indians upon improved institutions; they desired rather to lead them insensibly forward, more especially in the adoption of religious ordinances. Those practices, indeed, which they considered likely to commend themselves by their beneficial effects to the natural understanding of men, they were not restrained from recommending to their early adoption;

and trial by jury very soon superseded the savage modes of determining right or ascertaining guilt, and contributed to improve and refine the sense of equity. In the dress and mode of cohabitation of the savages, they also introduced, at an early period, alterations calculated to form and develope a sense of modesty, in which the Indians were found to be grossly and universally defective. But all these practices which are, or ought to be, exclusively the fruits of renewed nature and Divine light, they desired to teach entirely by example, and by diligently radicating and cultivating in the minds of their flocks the principles out of which alone such practices can lastingly and beneficially grow. It was not till the year 1660 that the first Indian church was founded by Mr. Elliot and his fellow-labourers in Massachusetts. There were at that time no fewer than ten settlements within the province, occupied by Indians comparatively civilized.

Mr. Elliot had from time to time translated and printed various approved religious works for the use of the Indians, and, at length, in the year 1664, the Bible was printed, for the first time, in the language of the new world, at Cambridge in Massachusetts [5]. This great achievement was not effected without the assistance of pecuniary contributions from the mother country. The colonists had zealously and gladly co-operated with their ministers, and assisted to defray the cost of their charitable undertakings; but the increasing expenses threatened at last to exceed what their means were able to supply. Happily, the tidings of this great work excited a kindred spirit in the parent state, and in the year 1649 was formed there, by act of parliament, a *Society for Propagating the*

Indian Bible printed in Massachusetts.

[5] I have seen a copy of this edition of the Bible in the library of the late George Chalmers. It is a beautiful piece of typography.

Many earlier publications had already issued from the fertile press of New England. One of the first was a new metrical translation of the Psalms—very literal, and very unpoetical. To this last imputation the New Englanders answered, "that God's altars need not our polishings." Oldmixon, i. 109, 110.

BOOK II.

1647.

Gospel in New England, whose cooperation proved of essential service to the missionary cause. This society, having been dissolved at the Restoration, was afterwards re-erected by a charter from Charles the Second, obtained by the exertions of the pious Richard Baxter and the influence of the great Robert Boyle, who was thus the benefactor of New England as well as of Virginia. Supported by its ample endowments, and the no less liberal contributions of their own fellow-colonists, the American missionaries exerted themselves with such energy and success in the work of converting and civilizing the savages, that, before the close of the seventeenth century, there were in the province of Massachusetts more than thirty congregations of Indians, comprising upwards of three thousand persons reclaimed from a gross degrading barbarism, and advanced to the comfort and respectability of civilized life, and the dignity and happiness of worshippers of the true God, through the mediation of the only name by which men can know or approach him. There were nearly as many converts to religion and civility in the islands of Massachusetts Bay: there were several Indian congregations in the Plymouth territories; and among some of the tribes that still adhered to their roving barbarous mode of life, there was introduced a considerable improvement in their civil and moral habits. When we reflect on the toils that these missionaries encountered, on the vast and varied difficulties they were enabled to overcome, and survey the magnificent expanse of happiness and virtue that arose from their exertions; and, when looking backwards, we trace the stream of events to its first spring in the pride and cruelty that was let loose to fortify the zeal of the puritans, and, finally, to drive them from their native land to the scene appointed for this great and happy achievement;—we acknowledge the unseen but eternal con-

Effects of the missionary labour.

trol of that Being who projects the end from the beginning, who alone does the good that is done in the earth, and beneath whose irresistible will, the depravity that opposes, no less than the virtue that coincides with it, are but the instruments that blindly or knowingly effect its fulfilment. CHAP. III. 1647.

Among the various difficulties that obstructed the changes which the missionaries attempted to introduce into the habits of the Indians, it was found that the human constitution had been deeply deteriorated by ages of savage life. Habits of alternate energy and sloth, indulged from generation to generation, seemed at length to have given a character or bias to the animal faculties almost as deeply ingrained as the depraved hue of the negro body, and to have seriously impaired the capacity of continuous exertion. In every employment that demanded steady labour, the Indians were found decidedly inferior to the Europeans. The first missionaries, and their immediate successors, sustained this discouragement without shrinking, and animated their converts to resist or endure it. But, at a later period, when it was found that the taint which the Indian constitution had received continued to be propagated among descendants educated in habits widely different from those of their forefathers, many persons began too hastily to apprehend that the imperfection was incurable; and missionary ardour was abated by the very circumstance that most strongly demanded its revival and enlargement. In concurrence with this cause of decline in the progress of the great work which we have contemplated, the energetic gratitude of the first converts from darkness to light had subsided; and the consequence unhappily was, that a considerable abatement ensued of the piety, morality, and industry, of the Indian communities that had been reclaimed from savage life. But the work has not been lost; its

BOOK II.

visible traces were never suffered to perish: amidst occasional decline and revival, it has always been manifest, and the people gathered to God from this barbarous and deeply-revolted kindred have never been permitted to disappear[6].

1647.

I have been induced to overstep very considerably the march of time, in order to exhibit a brief but unbroken view of this great scene of missionary labour. We now return to follow more leisurely the general stream of the affairs of the colony.

A synod of the New England churches.

Shortly after the dissensions that had prevailed in the year 1646, the general court recommended the assembling of a general synod of the churches in order to frame an uniform scheme of church discipline for all the colonial congregations. The proposal was resisted by several of the churches, which expressed great apprehension of the arbitrary purposes and superstitious devices which might be promoted by the dangerous practice of convocating synods. But, at length, the persuasion generally prevailing that an assembly of this description possessed no inherent authority, and that its functions were confined to the tendering of counsel, the second synod of New England was called together at Cambridge. The confession of faith that had recently been published by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, was thoroughly examined and unanimously approved. Three of the most eminent ministers of the colony, Cotton, Partridge, and Mather, were then appointed to prepare a model of discipline for the instruction of the colonial churches. The *Platform of church Discipline*, which they composed accordingly, and presented to the synod, after many long debates,

1648.

[6] Day-breaking of the Gospel in New England. Shepherd's Clear Sunshine of the Gospel upon the Indians. Elliot's and Mayhew's Letters. Mayhew's Indian Converts. Whitfield's Discovery of the present State of the Indians. Baxter's Life (folio), p. 290. Mather, B. iii. p. 190—206. B. vi. Cap. vi. Neal, i. cap. vi. Hutchinson, i. 160.

received the general approbation and universal acquiescence[7]. CHAP. III.

A dispute had for some time subsisted between Massachusetts and Connecticut respecting a tax which the latter state had imposed, and which Massachusetts considered with good reason to operate unfairly on a portion of her people. Having complained to the confederacy, and not obtaining redress as speedily as they considered themselves entitled to expect, the legislative authorities of Massachusetts passed an act imposing a retaliatory duty not only on goods from Connecticut, but on importations from all the other states of the confederation. This unjust proceeding could be supported only by an appeal to the privilege of the strongest; a privilege which Massachusetts was so well able to enforce, that the other confederates had nothing to oppose but the usual, though often ineffectual, expedient of the weak. Happily for them and for herself, their ally, though liable to be betrayed into error by resentment and partiality, was not intoxicated with conscious power. They presented a remonstrance to the general court of Massachusetts, desiring it "seriously to consider whether such proceedings agree with the law of love, and the tenor of the articles of confederation." On receiving this remonstrance, the government of Massachusetts, superior to the mean shame of acknowledging a wrong, consented to suspend the obnoxious ordinance[8]. 1649. 1650.

[7] Neal, i. 272—5. II. Append. No. II.

[8] Hutchinson, i. 156. Chalmers, 182, 3. Another dispute, which occurred about three years after between Massachusetts and the other confederated states, is related with great minuteness, and I think with no small injustice and impartiality, by the respectable historian of Connecticut. In 1653, a discovery was supposed to have been made of a conspiracy between Stuyvesant, the governor of the Dutch colony, and the Indians, for the extermination of the English. The evidence of this sanguinary project (which Stuyvesant indignantly disclaimed) was held sufficient, and the resolution of a general war embraced, by all the commissioners of the union except those of Massachusetts. The general court of this province judged the proof inconclusive, and were fortified in this opinion by the judgment of their clergy, which they consented to abide by. To all the remonstrances of their allies, they answered, that no articles of confederation

BOOK II.

1651.

Dispute between Massachusetts and the Long Parliament.

But Massachusetts, in the following year, was engaged in a dispute with a power still more formidable to her than she was to her confederates, and much less susceptible of sentiments of moderation and forbearance. The Long Parliament having now established its authority at home, was determined to exact an explicit recognition of it from all the dependencies of the state, and even to introduce such recognition into all the charters and official proceedings of subordinate communities. A requisition was accordingly transmitted to the governor and assembly of Massachusetts, to send their charter to London, to take out a new patent from the keepers of the liberties of England, and to hold all courts, and issue all writs, in the name of this description of authority. This command excited the utmost alarm in the colony: nor could all the attachment of the people to the cause of the parliament[9] reconcile them to a surrender of the title under which their settlements and institutions had been formed, and which had never obstructed their subordination to the authorities that now proposed to revoke it. The parliament had no more right to supersede the original patent of the

should induce them to undertake an offensive war which they considered unjust, and on which they could not ask or expect the blessing of God. The historian of Connecticut, not content with reprobating this breach of the articles of union, vehemently maintains that the scruples of Massachusetts were insincere. Trumbull, Vol. i. Cap. x. But, in truth, the evidence of the Dutch plot laboured under very serious defects, which were much more coolly weighed by the people of Massachusetts, than by the inhabitants of Connecticut and Newhaven, exasperated by frequent disputes with the Dutch, and, by their proximity, exposed to the greatest danger from Dutch hostilities. In the beginning of the following century, the situation of the provinces was so far reversed, that Massachusetts was compelled to solicit Connecticut for aid in a general war with the Indians; and, on this occasion, Connecticut, remote from the scene of action, at first refused her aid upon scruples (which she afterwards ascertained to be groundless) respecting the lawfulness of the war. Trumbull, Vol. ii. Cap. v.

[9] Though attached to the cause of the parliament, the people of New England had so far forgotten their own wrongs, and escaped the contagion of the passions engendered in the civil war, that the tragical fate of the king appears to have excited general grief and concern. The public expression of such sentiments would have been equally inexpedient and unavailing; but that they were entertained is very manifest. See Hutchinson, i. 157. In this the puritans of America were not singular. No man in England made greater efforts to save Charles's life than William Prynn the puritan, than whom no man had suffered more severely from his tyranny.

colony, than to require the city of London, or any of the other corporations of England, to submit their charters to similar dissolution and renovation. But the colonists were well aware that the authorities which had issued this arbitrary mandate had the power to enforce it; and, accordingly, declining a direct collision, they reverted to the policy which they had once successfully employed to counteract the tyrannical intentions of the king, and succeeded in completely foiling this assembly, so renowned for its success, resolution, and capacity. The general court, instead of surrendering the patent, transmitted a petition to the parliament against the enforcement of this mandate, setting forth, that "these things not being done in the late king's time or since, it was not able to discern the need of such an injunction." It represented the condition and authority on which the settlers had originally come to New England, their stedfast adherence to the cause of the parliament throughout the civil wars, and their present explicit recognition of its supremacy; and prayed that the people might not now be worse dealt with than in the time of the king, and instead of a governor and magistrates annually chosen by themselves, be required to submit to others imposed on them against their wills. The general court at the same time addressed a letter to "the Lord General Cromwell," for the purpose of interesting his powerful mediation in their behalf, as well as of dissuading him from the prosecution of certain measures which he himself had projected for their advantage. The peculiar character which the New England colonists had displayed, the institutions they had established, and their predilection for the independent model of church government which he himself so highly admired, had recommended them in the most powerful manner to the esteem of this

The colony foils the parliament—

and is favoured by Cromwell.

BOOK II. 1651.

extraordinary man: and his favourable regards were enhanced by the recollection of the plan he had formed, and so nearly realized, of uniting his destiny with theirs in America. Nor were they at all abated by the compassion and benevolence with which the colonists received a considerable body of unfortunate Scots whom Cromwell had caused to be transported to Massachusetts after the battle of Dunbar, and of which he was informed by a letter from Mr. Cotton [1]. He seemed to consider that he had been detained in England for their interests as well as his own, and never ceased to desire that they should be more nearly associated with his fortunes, and cheered with the rays of his grandeur. He had conceived an ardent desire to be the author of an enterprise so illustrious as the revocation of these men to the country from which they had been so unworthily expelled; and as an act of honourable justice to themselves, as well as for the advantage of Ireland, he had recently broached the proposal of transporting them from America, and establishing them in a district of this island, which was to be evacuated for their reception. In their letter to him, the general court, which had been apprised of this scheme, acknowledged, with grateful expressions, the kind consideration which it indicated; but declined to avail themselves of it, or abandon a land where they had experienced so much of the favour of God, and were blessed with such prospects of converting the heathen. They at the same time recommended their petition against the parliamentary measures to his friendly countenance, and beseeched "his Excellence to be pleased to show whatsoever God shall direct him unto, on the behalf of the colony, to the most

[1] Cromwell was far from being incapable of appreciating the merit or tolerating the praise of a foe: and the finest tribute that was ever paid to the dignified courage with which Charles the First encountered his fate, is contained in an ode by the patriot and poet, Andrew Marvell, addressed to the protector.

honourable parliament." It may be presumed, that Cromwell's mediation was successfully employed, as the requisition that had been transmitted to the general court was not further prosecuted [2]. CHAP. III. 1651.

The successes of the Long Parliament had begotten in its leading members a growing spirit of dominion, of which the colonies did not fail to experience the operation. In the history of Virginia we have beheld the laws by which the traffic of all the colonies with foreign nations was prohibited, and the ordinances and proceedings by which the subjugation of that refractory settlement was enacted and enforced. The state of Massachusetts, which was desirous, as far as possible, to act in concurrence with the parliament, and was perfectly sincere in recognising its supremacy, cooperated with its ordinance against Virginia, by prohibiting all intercourse with that colony till it had been reduced by the parliamentary forces. But it was not over those settlements alone, which opposed its supremacy, that the parliament was disposed to indulge the spirit of dominion; and though Massachusetts was protected from its designs by the interference of Cromwell, Maryland, which had received its establishment from

[2] Hutchinson, i. 176. and Append. 516. 520. Hutchinson's Collection of papers, 235. Chalmers, 184, 5. The commissioners for New England, who were sent thither by Charles the Second, asserted, in their narrative, that the colony solicited Cromwell to be declared a free state. Hutchinson's Collection of papers, p. 420. This is highly unlikely, and was suggested perhaps by misrepresentation or misapprehension of the circumstances related in the text. The publication of Governor Winthrop's Journal has now clearly proved that the leading men in Massachusetts entertained from the beginning a considerable jealousy of parliamentary jurisdiction. "In 1641," says Winthrop, "some of our friends in England wrote to us advice to send over some to solicit for us in the parliament, giving us hopes that we might obtain much; but, consulting about it, we declined the motion for this consideration: that if we should put ourselves under the protection of the parliament, we must then be subject to all such laws as they should make, or, at least, such as they might impose upon us; in which course, though they should intend our good, yet it might prove very prejudicial to us." Winthrop's Journal, p. 218. Hence it is obvious that the people of New England, in acknowledging the supremacy of parliament, had respect to it not as a legislative body, but as administering the functions of royalty. They never willingly admitted that the mother country possessed a legislative control over them; or that, in forsaking her shores, they had left behind them an authority capable of sending after them the evils from which they had fled.

BOOK III.

Charles the First, was compelled to receive the alterations of its official style which Massachusetts had evaded; and Rhode Island beheld the very form of government which it had received from the parliament itself in 1643, suspended by an order of the council of state. What might have ensued upon this order, and what similar or further proceedings might have been adopted by the parliament relative to the other colonies, were intercepted by its own dissolution, and the convergence of the whole power of the English commonwealth in the strong hands of Oliver Cromwell[4].

1652-3.

1653.

The protector's administration beneficial to New England.

The ascendancy of the protector proved highly beneficial to all the American colonies, except Virginia, which, on account of the political tenets of its inhabitants, he regarded even with greater displeasure than the catholic establishment of Maryland. Rhode Island, immediately after his elevation, resumed the form of government which the parliament had recently suspended; and, by the decisive vigour of his interference, the people of Connecticut and Newhaven were relieved from the apprehensions they had long entertained of the hostile designs of the Dutch colonists of New York. All the New England states were thenceforward exempted from the operation of the parliamentary ordinance against trade with foreign nations; and both their commerce and security derived a great increase from the conquest which the protector's arms achieved, of the province of Acadie from the French. But it was Massachusetts that occupied the highest place in his esteem; and to the inhabitants of this settlement he earnestly longed to impart a dignity of external con-

He conquers Acadie.

[3] This year Massachusetts lost its eminent preacher, patriarch, and peacemaker, John Cotton. Finding himself dying, he sent for the magistrates and ministers of the colony, and, with much solemnity and tenderness, bade them farewell for a while. Few men have ever occupied so large room as this man possessed in the hearts of his countrymen.

[4] Chalmers, 222. 274.

dition proportioned to the elevation which he believed them to enjoy in the favour of the great Sovereign of all mankind. The reasons for which they had declined his offer of a settlement in Ireland, however likely to commend themselves to his approbation, were still more calculated to draw forth his regard for a people who felt the force of such generous considerations. When his arms had effected the conquest of Jamaica, he conceived the project of transplanting the colonists of Massachusetts to that beautiful island; and, with this view, he strongly represented to them, that, by establishing themselves and their principles in the West Indies, they would carry the sword of the gospel into the very heart of the territories of popery, and that consequently they ought to deem themselves as strongly called to this ulterior removal, as they had been to their original migration. He endeavoured to incite them to embrace this project by promises of his amplest countenance and support, and of having the whole powers of government vested entirely in their own hands, and by expatiating on the rich productions of the torrid zone, with which their industry would be rewarded in this new settlement: and with these considerations he blended an appeal to their conscience, in pressing them to fulfil, in their own favour, the promise which, he said, the Almighty had given *to make his people the head, and not the tail*[5]. He not only urged these views upon the agents and correspondents of the colonists in England, but despatched one of his own officers to solicit on the spot their compliance with his proposal. But the colonists were exceedingly averse to abandon a country where they found themselves happy and in possession of a sphere of increasing usefulness; and the proposal was the more unacceptable to them from the

CHAP. III.

1653.

1655.

His propositions to the inhabitants of Massachusetts.

[5] He alluded, I suppose, to Deuteronomy xxviii. 13.

BOOK II.

1656.

declined by them.

accounts they had received of the sickliness of Jamaica. The general court accordingly returned an address, declining, in the name of their fellow-citizens, to embrace the protector's offer, and withal beseeching his Highness not to impute their refusal to indifference to his service, or to an ungrateful disregard of his concern for their welfare[6]. Thus, by the overruling influence of that Power by which their steps had been so signally directed, were the colonists prevented, on two occasions, from availing themselves of the injudicious promotion which Cromwell was so eager to bestow. Had they removed to Ireland, they would themselves shortly after have been subjected to slavery: had they proceeded to Jamaica, they would have been exposed to a strong and dangerous temptation of inflicting that injustice upon others. In the mind of Cromwell, a vehement ardour was singularly combined with the most profound and deliberate sagacity; and enthusiastic sentiments were not unfrequently blended with politic considerations, in proportions which it is little likely that he himself was aware of; or that any spectator of his actions can hope to adjust. It is obvious, on the one hand, that his propositions to the colonists, on both occasions, were connected with the securer establishment of his own dominion in Ireland, and the preservation of his conquest in the West Indies. But it is equally certain, on the other, that the colonists incurred neither displeasure, nor even abatement of his cordial friendship, by refusing to promote the schemes on which he was so strongly bent: nay, so powerfully had they captivated his rugged heart, that they were able to main-

[6] Hutchinson, i. 180. 190—192. Chalmers, 292. 192. 188. Hazard, 638. A similar answer was returned by Newhaven to a similar application from the protector. Trumbull, i. 228. There were not wanting some wild spirits among the colonists, who relished the protector's proposals. The notorious *Venner*, who headed the insurrection of the *Fifth Monarchy men* in England after the Restoration, was for some time an inhabitant of Salem, and prevailed with a party of zealots there to unite in a scheme of emigration to the West Indies. But the design was discouraged by the clergy, and intercepted by the magistrates. Oldmixon, i. 47.

tain his favour, even while their intolerance discredited the independent principles which he and they concurred in professing; and none of the complaints with which he was long harassed on their account by the anabaptists and quakers, whose proceedings and treatment in the colony we are now to consider, were ever able to deprive the people of the place they had gained in the protector's esteem. CHAP. III. 1656.

The colonists had been of late years involved occasionally in hostilities with some of the Indian tribes, and in disputes with the Dutch, by whose machinations it was suspected that these savages were more than once instigated to conspire against them. But these events had been productive of greater alarm than injury: and by far the most serious troubles with which the colonists were infested were those which arose from religious dissensions. Of all the instances of persecution that occur in the history of New England, the most censurable in its principle, though happily also the least vehement in the severities which it produced, was the treatment inflicted on the anabaptists by the government of Massachusetts. The first appearance of these sectaries in this province was in the year 1651, when, to the great astonishment and concern of the community, seven or eight persons, of whom the leader was one Obadiah Holmes, all at once professed the baptist tenets, and separated from the congregation to which they had belonged, declaring that they could no longer take counsel, or partake divine ordinances, with unbaptized men, as they pronounced all the other inhabitants of the province to be. The erroneous doctrine which thus unexpectedly sprung up was at this time regarded with peculiar dread and jealousy, on account of the horrible enormities of sentiment and practice with which the first professors Persecution of the anabaptists in Massachusetts.

BOOK II. 1656.

of it in Germany had associated its repute[7]; and no sooner did Holmes and his friends set up a baptist conventicle for themselves, than complaints of their proceedings, as an intolerable nuisance, came pouring into the general court from all quarters of the colony. From the tenor of these complaints, it appears, that the influence of that infamous association, by which the wretched Boccold and his frantic followers at Munster had stained and degraded the baptist tenets, still preserved its force in the minds of men, and that the profession of these tenets was calculated to awaken suspicions of the grossest immorality of conduct. Holmes was accused of having dishonoured the Almighty, not only by scattering his people and denying his ordinance, but by the commission of profligate impurities, and the shameful indecency with which it was alleged that his distinctive rite was administered. It is admitted by the colonial historians, that the evidence that was adduced in support of these latter charges was insufficient to establish them. The court at first proceeded no farther than to adjudge Holmes and his friends to desist from their unchristian separation: and they were permitted to retire, having first, however, publicly declared that they would follow out the leadings of their consciences, and obey God rather than man. Some time after, they were apprehended on a Sunday, while attending the preaching of one Clark, a baptist, from Rhode Island, who had come to propagate his tenets in Massachusetts. The constables who took them into custody carried them to church, as a more proper place of christian worship; where Clark put on his hat the moment that the minister began to pray. Clark, Holmes, and another, were sentenced to pay small

[7] See Robertson's Hist. of Charles the Fifth, B. v.

fines, or be flogged: and thirty lashes were actually inflicted on Holmes, who resolutely persisted in choosing a punishment that would enable him to show with what constancy he could suffer for what he believed to be the truth. A law was at the same time passed, subjecting to banishment from the colony every person who should openly condemn or oppose the baptism of infants, who should attempt to seduce others from the use or approbation thereof, or purposely depart from the congregation when that rite was administered, "*or deny the ordinance of the magistracy, or their lawful right or authority to make war*[8]." From these last words it would appear, that the baptists either held, or were reported to hold, along with the proper tenets from whence they have derived their denomination, principles that might well be deemed adverse to the stability of government and the safety of society. In addition to this, we are assured by Cotton Mather, that it was the practice of the anabaptists, in order to strengthen their party and manifest their contempt for the clerical congregations, to receive at once into their body every person whom the established church had suspended from ecclesiastical privileges for licentiousness of conduct, and even to appoint these persons administrators of the sacrament among them. Yet, even with these and other extenuating considerations, it is impossible to acquit the government of Massachusetts of having violated in this instance the rights of conscience, and made men offenders for the fidelity with which they adhered to what they firmly, though erroneously, believed to be the will of God, in relation to a matter purely ecclesiastical[9]. The eagerness with which every

CHAP. III. 1656.

[8] Mather, B. vii. Cap. iv. Neal, i. 278—284.

[9] The baptists who were exiled from Massachusetts were allowed to settle in the colony of Plymouth (Hutchinson, ii. 478), whence it may be strongly inferred, that they did not in reality profess (as they were supposed by the people of Massachu-

BOOK II.

1656.

collateral charge against the baptists was credited in the colony, and the vehement impatience with which their claim of toleration was rejected, forcibly indicate the illiberality and delusion by which their persecutors were governed; and may suggest to the christian philosopher a train of reflections no less instructive than interesting on the self-deceit by which men so commonly infer the honesty of their convictions, and the rectitude of their proceedings, from that resentful perturbation which far more truly indicates a secret consciousness of injustice and inconsistency. There is not a more common nor more pernicious error in the world than that one virtue may be practised at the expense of another. Where sincerity without charity is professed, there is always reason to suspect the professor of a dishonest disregard of the secret surmises of his own spirit.

It is mortifying to behold such tares growing up in the field that was already so richly productive of missionary exertion and other fruits of genuine and exalted piety. The severities that were employed proved in the end totally ineffectual to restrain the growth of the baptist tenets; though for the present the professors of these doctrines appear to have either desisted from holding separate assemblies, or to have retired from Massachusetts. Some of them proceeded to England, and complained to Cromwell of the persecution they had undergone; but he rejected their complaint, and applauded the conduct of the colonial authorities [1].

Conduct and sufferings of the quakers.

The treatment which the quakers experienced in Massachusetts was much more severe, but, at the same time, undoubtedly much more justly provoked. It is difficult for us, in the calm and rational de-

setts to do) principles adverse to the safety of society. The charge probably originated in the extravagance of a few of their own number, and the impatience and injustice of their adversaries.

[1] Hutchinson, i. 193.

meanour of the quakers of the present age, to recognise the successors of those wild enthusiasts who first appeared in the north of England, about the year 1644, and began a few years after to be distinguished by the name of quakers. In the mind of George Fox, the collector of this sectarian body, and the founder of their system of doctrine, there existed a singular mixture of christian sentiment and gospel truth, with a deep shade of error and delusion. Profoundly pious and contemplative, but constitutionally visionary and hypochondriacal[2], he appears at first to have suspected that the peculiarities of his mental impressions might have arisen from some malady which advice could remove; and an old clergyman, to whom he applied for counsel, advised him to seek a cure of what was spiritual in his disorder by singing psalms, and of what was bodily by smoking tobacco[3]. Fox rejected both parts of the prescription as unsuitable to his condition, because disagreeable to his taste; and being now convinced that others were incapable of understanding his case, he took it entirely into his own hands, and resolved to cherish, study, and, if possible, cultivate into distinctness the unintelligible motions of his spirit; in short, to follow the leadings of his fancy as far as they would carry him. Unsuspicious of morbid influence, or of the deceitfulness of his own imagination, he yielded implicit credence to every suggestion of his mind,

CHAP. III. 1656

[2] Several eminent christian teachers have been afflicted with hypochondriacal affections, and in a greater or less degree deluded by the strange impressions of which they render the mind susceptible. That great and good man, David Brainerd, in particular, laboured under this disease all his life; and though it did not affect his views of doctrine, it exercised a most unhappy influence on his sentiments, and produced much of what is gloomy and visionary in the account which he composed of his own experience. This is expressly avowed by his biographer, President Edwards, who was intimately acquainted with him. So delusive is this insidious malady, that perhaps none of its victims has ever been aware how far he was subject to its influence. Brainerd's partial consciousness of it, prevented it from extending its influence from his feelings to his understanding.

[3] Fox's Journal.

BOOK II. 1656.

and was given up in an amazing degree to the delusions which, by prayer to the Almighty, he might have been enabled to overcome and dispel. Yet the powerful hold which the Scriptures had already taken of his mind, and the strong determination towards solid and genuine piety which his spirit had thence derived, prevented him from wandering into the same monstrous extravagance which the conduct of many of his associates and followers very speedily evinced. In his journal, which is one of the most remarkable and interesting productions of the human mind, he has faithfully related the influence which his tenets produced on the sentiments and conduct both of himself and his followers. It displays in many parts a wonderful insight into spiritual things, together with numberless instances of that delusion by which he mistook a strong perception of wrong and disorder in human nature and civil society, for a supernatural power to rectify what he saw amiss. He relates with perfect approbation many instances of contempt of decency and order in his own conduct, and of most insane and disgusting outrage in that of his followers; and though he reprobates the extravagances of some whom he denominates *Ranters*, it is not easy to discriminate between the extravagance which he sanctions and that which he condemns. Amidst much darkness, there glimmers a bright and beautiful ray of truth: many passages of Scripture are powerfully illustrated; and labours of zeal and piety, of courage and integrity, are recorded, that would do honour to the ministry of an inspired apostle. That his personal character was elevated and excellent in an unusual degree, appears from the impression it produced on the minds of all who approached him. Penn and Barclay in particular, who to the most eminent virtue added talents of the first

order, regarded Fox with the utmost fondness and veneration [4]. CHAP. III.

It was this man who first embraced and promulgated those tenets which have ever since remained the distinctive principles of quaker doctrine—that the Holy Spirit, instead of operating (as the generality of christians believe it in all ordinary cases to do) by insensible control of the ordinary motions of the mind, acts by direct and sensible impulse on the spirit of man; that its influence, instead of being obtained by prayer to Him who has promised to bestow it on those who ask it, is procured by an introversion of the intellectual eye upon the mind where it already resides, and in the stillness and watchful attention of which, the hidden spark will blaze into a clear inward light and sensible flame; and that the Spirit, instead of simply opening the minds of men to understand the Scriptures and receive their testimony, can and does convey instruction independently of the written word, and communicate knowledge which is not to be found in the Scriptures. These dangerous errors have never been renounced by the quakers, though their practical influence has long since abated, and indeed had considerably declined before the end of that century, about the middle of which they arose. In proportion as they have been cultivated and realized, has been the progress of the sect into heresy of opinion or wild delusion of fancy and irregularity of conduct: in proportion as they have subsided, has been the ascendancy which real piety or rational and philosophical principle has obtained over the minds of the quakers. Even in the present day, we behold the evil influence of these erroneous doctrines, in the frequently silent meetings of the quakers, in the licence which they give to women to assume the office 1656.

[4] See Note VIII.

BOOK II. 1656.

of teachers in the church, and in the abolition of the sacraments so distinctly instituted and enjoined in Scripture. But when these doctrines were first published, the effects which they produced on many of their votaries, far exceeded the influence to which modern history restricts them, or which the experience of this cool and rational age finds it easy to conceive. In England, at that time, the minds of men were in an agitated unsettled state, inflamed with the rage of speculation, strongly endued with religious sentiment, and yet strongly averse to restraint. The bands that had so long restrained liberty of speech being suddenly broken, many crude thoughts were eagerly broached, and many peculiar notions that had long been fermenting in the unwholesome silence of locked-up bosoms, were brought forth: and all these were presented to minds roused and whetted by civil war, kindled by great alarms or by vast and indeterminate designs, and so accustomed for a length of time to effect or contemplate the most surprising changes, that the distinction between speculation and certainty was greatly effaced. The presbyterians alone, or nearly alone, appear to have been generally willing to submit to, as well as to impose, restraint on the lawless licence of speculation; and to them the quakers, from the beginning, were objects of unmixed disapprobation and even abhorrence. But to many other persons, this new scheme, opening a wide field of enthusiastic speculation, and presenting itself without the restrictive accompaniment of a creed, exhibited irresistible attractions, and rapidly absorbed a great variety of human character and feeling. Before many years had elapsed, the ranks of the quakers were recruited, and their doctrines, without being substantially altered, were moulded into a more systematic shape, by such an accession of philosophical votaries, as, in

the early ages of the church, christianity itself derived from the pretended adoption and real adulteration of its doctrines, by the disciples of the Platonic philosophy. But it was the wildest and most enthusiastic dreamers in the country, that the quaker tenets counted among their earliest votaries, and to whom they afforded a sanction and stimulus to the boldest excursions of lawless and uncertain thought, and a principle that was thought to consecrate the most irregular and disorderly conduct. And accordingly these sectarians, who have always professed and inculcated the maxims of inviolable peace, who not many years after were accounted a class of philosophical deists seeking to pave the way to a scheme of natural religion, by allegorizing the distinguishing articles of the christian faith, and who are now in general remarkable for a calm benevolence and a peculiar remoteness from every active effort to make proselytes to their distinctive tenets, were, in the infancy of their body, the most impetuous zealots and inveterate disputers; and in their eagerness to proselytize the world, and to bear witness from the fountain of oracular testimony, which they supposed to reside within them, against a regular ministry which they called a priesthood of Baal, and against the sacraments which they termed carnal and idolatrous observances, many of them committed the most revolting blasphemy, indecency, and disorderly outrage[5]. The unfavourable impression that these

1656.

[5] The frenzy that possessed many of the quakers had reached its height in the year 1656, the very year in which the quakers first presented themselves in Massachusetts. See the proceedings in the House of Commons against James Naylor, a quaker, for blasphemy. Howel's State Trials, vol. v. p. 801. This unhappy person represented himself as the redeemer of the human race. Some particulars of his frenzy are related in Note IX. He lived to recant his errors, and even write sensibly in defence of the quaker body, who were by this time increasing in respectability, and were yet so magnanimous as to acknowledge as a friend the man who had done such disservice to their cause. It is a remarkable and significant fact, that at the very time when the separate teaching of the spirit was most strongly insisted on by the quakers, and the office and

BOOK II.

actions created, long survived the extinction of the frenzy and folly that produced them.

1656. While in pursuance of their intentions to make proselytes of the whole world, some of the quakers proceeded to Rome, in order to convert the pope, and others to Constantinople, for the purpose of instructing the Grand Turk; a party of them proceeded to America and established themselves in Rhode Island, where persons of every religious denomination were permitted to settle in peace, and none gave heed to the sentiments or practices of his neighbours. From hence they soon made their way into the Plymouth territory, where they succeeded in persuading some of the people to embrace the mystical dispensation of an inward light as comprising the whole of religion, and to oppose all order, both civil and ecclesiastical, as a vain and judaizing substitution of the kingdom of the flesh for the kingdom

July. of the spirit. On their first appearance in Massachusetts, where two male and six female quakers arrived from Rhode Island and Barbadoes, they found that the reproach which their sect had incurred by the insane extravagance of some of its members in England, had preceded their arrival, and that they were objects of the utmost terror and dislike to the great body of the people. They were instantly apprehended by the government, and diligently examined for what were considered bodily marks of witchcraft. None such having been found, they were sent back to the place whence they came, by the same vessels that had brought them, and prohibited with threats of the severest penal inflictions from ever again returning to the colony. A law was passed

work of the Saviour of mankind of consequence least alluded to, several of their own members (more or less insane, no doubt,) believed this office to be vested in themselves.

at the same time subjecting every ship-master importing quakers or quaker writings to a heavy fine; adjudging all quakers who should intrude into the colony to stripes and labour in the house of correction, and all defenders of their tenets to fine, imprisonment, or exile. The four associated states concurred in this law, and urged the authorities of Rhode Island to co-operate with them in stemming the progress of quaker opinions; but the assembly of that island returned for answer, that they could not punish any man for declaring his mind with regard to religion; that they were much disturbed by the quakers, and by the tendency of their doctrines to dissolve all the relations of society; but that they found that the quakers delighted to encounter persecution, quickly sickened of a patient audience, and had already begun to loathe Rhode Island as a place where their talent of patient suffering was completely buried [6]. It is much to be lamented that the advice contained in this good-humoured letter was not adopted. The penal enactments resorted to by the other settlements, served only to inflame the impatience of the quaker zealots to carry their teaching into places that seemed to them so much in need of it; and the persons [7] who had been disappointed in their first attempt returned almost immediately, and,

[6] Gordon and other writers have represented the letter from Rhode Island to Massachusetts as conveying a dignified rebuke of intolerance, and have quoted a passage to this effect, which they have found somewhere else than in the letter itself.

Roger Williams, who contributed to found the state of Rhode Island, endeavoured, some years after this period, to extirpate the quaker heresy, by challenging some of the leaders of the sect, who had come out on a mission to their brethren from England, to hold a public disputation with him on their tenets. They accepted his challenge; and their historians assure us that the disputation, which lasted for several days, ended "in a clear conviction of the envy and prejudice of the old man." Gough and Sewel, ii. 134. It is more probable that, like other public disputations, it ended as it began.

[7] Except one of the women, Mary Fisher, who travelled to Adrianople, and had an interview with the Grand Vizier, by whom she was received with courteous respect. Bishop, the quaker, in his "New England Judged," observes, that she fared better among heathens than her associates did among professing Christians. He was perhaps not aware that the Turks regard insane

BOOK II.

dispersing themselves through the colony, began to announce their mysterious impressions, and succeeded in communicating them to some of the inhabitants of Salem. They were soon joined by Mary Clarke, the wife of a tailor in London, who announced that she had left her husband and six children, in order to carry a message from heaven, which she was commissioned to deliver to New England. Instead of joining with the colonial missionaries in attempts to reclaim the savages from their barbarous superstition and profligate immoralities, or themselves prosecuting separate missions of the same description, these people raised their voices against every thing that was most highly approved and revered in the doctrine and practice of the colonial churches. Having been seized and flogged, they were again dismissed with severer threats from the colony, and again they returned by the first vessels they could procure. The government and the great body of the colonists were incensed at their pertinacity, and shocked at the impression they had already produced on some minds, and which threatened to corrupt and subvert a system of piety whose establishment and perpetuation supplied their fondest recollections, their noblest enjoyment, and most energetic desires. New punishments were introduced into the legislative enactments against the intrusion of quakers and the profession of quakerism; and in particular the abscission of an ear was added to the former ineffectual severities. Three male quaker preachers endured the rigour of this cruel law.

1656.

1657.

1658.

But all the exertions of the colonial authorities proved utterly unavailing, and seemed rather to stimulate the zeal of the obnoxious sectaries to encounter

persons as inspired. But whether insane or not, she was not altogether divested of a prudential concern for her own safety; for "when they asked her what she thought of their prophet Mahomet, she made a cautious reply, that she knew him not."

the danger and court the glory of persecution. Clouds of quakers descended upon the colony; and, violent and impetuous in provoking persecution, calm, resolute, and inflexible in sustaining it, they opposed their powers of endurance to their adversaries' power of infliction, and not only multiplied their converts, but excited a considerable degree of favour and pity in the minds of men whose own experience had taught them to respect and sympathise with the virtue of suffering well[8]. When the quakers were committed to the house of correction, they refused to work; when they were subjected to fines, they refused to pay them. In the hope of enforcing compliance, the court adjudged two of these contumacious persons to be sold as slaves in the West Indies; but as even this appalling prospect could not move their stubborn resolution, the court, instead of executing its inhuman threat, resorted to the unavailing device of banishing them beyond its jurisdiction. It was by no slight provocations, that the quakers attracted these and additional severities upon themselves. Men trembled for the faith and morals of their families and their friends, when they heard the blasphemous denunciations that were uttered against "a carnal Christ;" and when they beheld the frantic and indecent outrages that were prompted by the mystical impressions which the quakers inculcated and professed to be guided by. In public assemblies, and in crowded streets, it was the practice of some of the

[8] A story is told by Whitelocke, p. 599, strongly illustrative of the singularity with which the quakers of these times combined all that was frantic in action with all that was dignified and affecting in suffering. Some quakers at Hasington in Northumberland, having interrupted a minister employed in divine service, were severely beaten by the people. Instead of resisting, they went out of the church, and falling on their knees, besought God to pardon their persecutors, who knew not what they did; and afterwards addressing the people, so convinced them of the cruelty of their violence, that their auditors fell a-quarrelling among themselves, and beat one another more than they had formerly beaten the quakers. These sectarians would seem, indeed, to have imitated the prophets of the Old Testament in provoking their fate, and the christian apostles and martyrs in enduring it.

BOOK II.

1658.

quakers to denounce the most tremendous manifestations of divine wrath on the people, unless they forsook their carnal system. Others interrupted divine service in the churches, by calling aloud that these were not the sacrifices that God would accept; and one of them enforced this assurance by breaking two bottles in the face of the congregation, exclaiming, "Thus will the Lord break you in pieces." They declared that the Scriptures were replete with allegory, that the inward light was the only infallible guide to religious truth, and that all were *blind beasts and liars* who denied it. The female preachers far exceeded their male associates in folly, frenzy, and indecency. One of them presented herself to a congregation with her face begrimed with coal dust, announcing it as an emblem of *the black pox*, which heaven had commissioned her to threaten as an approaching judgment on all carnal worshippers. Some of them in rueful attire perambulated the streets, declaring the immediate coming of an angel with a drawn sword to plead with the people. One woman entered stark naked into a church in the middle of divine service, and desired the people to take heed to her as a sign of the times; and her associates highly extolled her submission to the inward light, that had revealed to her the duty of exposing the nakedness of others by the indecent exhibition of her own person. Another was arrested as she was making a similar display in the streets of Salem. The horror that these insane enormities were fitted to inspire, was inflamed into the most vehement indignation, by the deliberate manner in which they were defended, and the disgusting profanity with which Scripture was linked in impure association with every thing that was odious, ridiculous, and contemptible. Among their other singularities, the quakers exemplified and inculcated the forbearance of every mark of respect to

courts and magistrates: they declared that governors, judges, lawyers, and constables were trees that must be cut down that the true light might have leave to shine and space to rule alone; and, forgetting to what diabolical ends quotation of Scripture has been made subservient, they freely indulged every contumacious whimsey, which they could connect, however absurdly, with the language of the Bible. One woman who was summoned before the court to answer for some extravagance, being desired to tell where she lived, refused to give any other answer than that she lived in God, "for in him we live, and move, and have our being." Letters replete with coarse and virulent railing were addressed by others to the magistrates of Boston and Plymouth. Such was the inauspicious outset of the quakers in America; a country where, a few years after, under the guidance of better judgment and feeling, they were destined to extend the empire of piety and benevolence, and to found establishments that have been largely productive of happiness and virtue. CHAP. III. 1658.

It has been asserted by some of the modern apologists of the quakers, that these frantic irregularities, which excited so much indignation, and produced such tragical consequences, were committed, not by genuine quakers, but by the *ranters* or wild separatists from the quaker body. Of these ranters, indeed, a very large proportion appear to have betaken themselves to America; attracted chiefly by the glory of persecution, but in some instances, perhaps, by the hope of attaining among their brethren in that country a distinction from which they were excluded in England by the established pre-eminence of George Fox [9]. It is certain, however, that these persons

[9] One of the most noted of these separatists was John Perrot, who, in order to convert the Pope, had made a journey to Italy, where he was confined for some time as a lunatic. This *persecution* greatly endeared him to the quakers, and exalted him so much in his own esteem that he began to consider himself more enlightened than George Fox. He prevailed with a considerable party in the

BOOK II.

assumed the name of quakers, and traced all their frenzy to the peculiar quaker principle of seeking within themselves for sensible admonitions of the spirit, independent of the written word. And many scandalous outrages were committed by persons whose profession of quaker principles was recognised by the quaker body, and whose sufferings are related, and their frenzy applauded, by the pens of quaker writers [1].

1658.

Exasperated by the repetition and increase of these enormities, and the extent to which the contagion of the principle whence they seemed to arise was propagating itself in the colony, the magistrates of Massachusetts at length, in the close of this year, introduced a law, denouncing the punishment of death upon all quakers returning from banishment. This law met with much opposition; and many persons, who would have hazarded their own lives to extirpate the opinions of the quakers, solemnly protested against the cruelty of shedding their blood. It was at first rejected by the deputies, and finally carried by the narrow majority of a single voice. In the course of the two following years, this law was carried into execution on three separate occasions, when four quakers, three men and a woman, were put to death at Boston. It does not appear that any of these unfortunate persons had been guilty of the outrages which the conduct of many of their brethren had associated with the profession of quakerism. Oppressed by the prejudice which had been created by the frantic conduct of others, they were adjudged

1659.
1660.

sect to wear long beards, and to reject the practice of uncovering their heads in time of prayer as a vain formality. Fox having succeeded, by dint of great exertions, in stemming these innovations, Perrot betook himself to America, where he appears to have multiplied his absurdities, and yet propagated them among the quakers to an amazing extent. Various missions were undertaken by George Fox and other English quakers to reclaim their brethren in America from the errors of Perrot, who finally abandoned every pretence to quakerism, and became a strenuous assertor of the observances against which he had formerly borne testimony. Gough and Sewell's Hist. of the Quakers, (edit. 1799,) i. 163—165; ii. 121, 122, &c.

[1] See Note IX.

CHAP. III.

1660.

to die for returning from banishment and continuing to preach the quaker doctrines. In vain the court entreated them to accept a pardon on condition of abandoning for ever the colony from which they had been repeatedly banished. They answered by reciting the heavenly call to continue there, which on various occasions, they said, had sounded in their ears, in the fields, and in their dwellings, distinctly syllabling their names, and whispering their prophetic office and the scene of its exercise[2]. When they were conducted to the scaffold, their demeanour evinced the most inflexible zeal and courage, and their dying declarations breathed in general the most sublime and affecting piety. These executions excited a great clamour against the government: many persons were offended by the representation of severities against which the establishment of the colony itself seemed intended to bear a perpetual testimony; and many were touched with an indignant compassion for the sufferings of the quakers, that effaced all recollection of the indignant disgust that their principles had heretofore inspired. The people began to flock in crowds to the prisons, and load the unfortunate quakers with demonstrations of kindness and pity. The magistrates published a very strong vindication of their proceedings, for the satisfaction of their fellow-citizens and of their friends in other countries, who united in blaming them; but at length the rising sentiments of humanity and justice at-

[2] The first quakers, instead of following the apostolic injunction to Christians, that when persecuted in one city they should flee to another, seem to have found strong attractions in the prospect of persecution. One of those who were put to death declared, that as he was holding the plough in Yorkshire, he was directed by a heavenly voice to leave his wife and children, and proceed to Barbadoes: but hearing of the banishment of the quakers from New England, and of the severe punishments inflicted on persons returning there after banishment, he began to ponder on the probability of his receiving a spiritual direction to proceed thither, and very soon after received it accordingly. Tomkins' and Kendal's Lives, Services, and dying Sayings of the Quakers, vol. i.

The woman who was executed was Mary Dyer, who, twenty years before, had been a follower of Mrs. Hutchinson, and a disturber of New England.

BOOK II.

1660.

tained such general and forcible prevalence as to overpower all opposition. On the trial of Leddra, the last of the sufferers, another quaker named Wenlock Christison, who had been banished upon pain of death, came boldly into court with his hat on, and reproached the magistrates for shedding innocent blood. He was taken into custody, and soon after put upon his trial. Being called to plead to his indictment, he desired to know by what law they tried him. When the last enactment against the quakers was cited to him, he asked, Who empowered them to make that law, and whether it were not repugnant to the jurisprudence of England? The governor very inappositely answered, that there was a law in England that appointed Jesuits to be hanged. But Christison replied, that they did not even accuse him of being a Jesuit, but acknowledged him to be a quaker, and that there was no law in England that made quakerism a capital offence. The court, however, overruled his plea, and the jury found him guilty. When sentence of death was pronounced upon him, he desired his judges to consider what they had gained by their cruel proceedings against the quakers. "For the last man that was put to death," said he, "here are five come in his room; and if you have power to take my life from me, God can raise up the same principle of life in ten of his servants, and send them among you in my room, that you may have torment upon torment." The talent and energy displayed by this man, who seems to have been greatly superior in mind to the bulk of his sectarian associates, produced an impression which could not be withstood. The law now plainly appeared to be unsupported by public consent, and the magistrates hastened to interpose between the sentence and its execution. Christison, and all the other quakers who were in custody, were

forthwith released and sent beyond the precincts of the colony; and as it was impossible to prevent them from returning, only the minor punishments of flogging and reiterated exile were employed. Even these were gradually relaxed as the quakers became gradually a more orderly people; and in the first year after the restoration of Charles the Second, even this degree of persecution was suspended by a letter from the king to Mr. Endicot[3], and the other governors of the New England settlements, requiring that no quakers should thenceforward undergo any corporal punishment in America, but if charged with offences that might seem to deserve such infliction, they should be remitted for trial to England. Happily the moderation of the colonial governments was more permanent than the policy of the king, who retracted his interposition in behalf of the quakers in the course of the following year. CHAP. III. 1660.

The persecution which was thus put an end to was not equally severe in all the New England states: the quakers suffered most in Massachusetts and Plymouth, and comparatively little in Connecticut and Newhaven. It was only in Massachusetts that the law inflicting capital punishment upon them was enacted. At a late period, the laws relating to *vagabond quakers* were so far revived, that quakers disturbing public assemblies, or violating public decency, were subjected to corporal chastisement. But little occasion ever again occurred of enforcing these severities; the wild excursions of the quaker spirit having generally ceased, and the quakers gradually subsiding into a decent and orderly submission to all the laws except such as related to the militia and the

[3] Endicot was in an especial degree the object of dislike to Charles the Second. Hutchinson relates that he had seen a letter from the Secretary of State sometime after this period, containing an intimation, that "the king would take it well if the people would leave out Mr. Endicot from the place of governor." Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 17.

BOOK II. 1660.

support of the ministry; in their scruples as to which, the legislature, with corresponding moderation, consented to indulge them[4].

During the long period that had elapsed since the commencement of the English civil wars, the states of New England had continued steadily and rapidly to advance in the increase of their numbers, and the enlargement of their territories. They were surrounded with abundance of cheap and fertile land, and secured in the possession of their religious privileges, and of civil and political freedom. The people were exempted from the payment of all taxes except for the support of their internal government, which was administered with great economy; and they enjoyed the extraordinary privilege of importing commodities into England free from that custom which all others were constrained to pay. By the favour of Cromwell, too, the commercial ordinances of the Long Parliament, of which the other plantations had reason to complain, were not enforced against them, and they continued to trade wherever they pleased. These particular causes, which had combined to promote the prosperity which New England had attained at the Restoration, contributed proportionally to overcast the prospects which that event awakened. There was the strongest reason to expect an abridgment of commercial advantages, and to tremble for the security of religious and political privileges. Various other circumstances contributed to retard the recognition of the royal authority. On the death of Cromwell, the colonists had been urged to recognise, first his son Richard as protector, afterwards the Long Parliament, which for a short time resumed its authority,

4 Mather, B. vii. Cap. iv. Neal, i. 291—297. 302—339. Hutchinson, i. 169—205, and Append. p. 526. Chalmers, 192. Hazard, ii. 552. 558. 560. An explosion of the ancient frenzy occurred among some professing quakers in Connecticut in the beginning of the eighteenth century: but it was partial and short lived.

CHAP. III.

1660.

and subsequently the Committee of Safety, as the sovereign authority of England. But, doubtful of the stability of any of these forms of administration, they had prudently declined to commit themselves by any declaration. In the month of July, the arrival of a vessel, on board of which were Generals Whaley and Goffe, two of the late king's judges, announced the restoration of Charles the Second; but no authoritative or official communication of this event was received, and England was represented as being in a very unsettled and distracted condition. The colony had no inducement to imitate Virginia in a premature declaration for the king: and while farther intelligence was anxiously expected, Whaley and Goffe were freely permitted to travel through the states, and to accept the friendly attentions which many persons tendered to them, and with which Charles afterwards bitterly reproached the colony [5].

The Restoration.

December.

At length decisive intelligence was received that the royal authority was firmly established in England, and that complaints against the colony of Massachusetts had been presented by various royalists, quakers, and other adversaries of its institutions or administration, to the privy council and the houses of parliament. A general court was immediately convened, and an address voted to the king, in which, with considerable ability, and with that conformity which they studied to the language of Scripture, they justified their whole conduct, professed a dutiful attachment to their sovereign, and entreated his protection and favour, which they declared themselves the more willing to hope from one who, having been himself a wanderer, was no stranger to the lot and the feelings of exiles. Having defended their proceedings against the quakers, by a summary of the heretical doctrines and seditious and indecent excesses which these sec-

Address of Massachusetts to Charles the Second.

5 Hutchinson, i. 206. 209, 210. Chalmers, 191. 249, 250.

BOOK II. 1660.

taries had introduced into the colony, they desired permission to be heard in their own vindication against every other charge that might be preferred against them. "Let not the king hear men's words," they said; "your servants are true men, fearers of God and the king, and not given to change, zealous of government and order, orthodox and peaceable in Israel. We are not seditious as to the interest of Cæsar, nor schismatics as to matters of religion. We distinguish between churches and their impurities; between a living man, though not without sickness and infirmity, and no man. Irregularities either in ourselves or others we desire may be amended. We could not live without the worship of God: we were not permitted the use of public worship without such a yoke of subscription and conformity as we could not consent unto without sin. That we might, therefore, enjoy divine worship without human mixtures, without offence either to God or man, or our consciences, we, with leave, but not without tears, departed from our country, kindred, and fathers' houses, into this Patmos." They assimilated their secession from England to that of "the good old nonconformist Jacob," from Syria; but declared that "the providential exception of us thereby from the late wars and temptation of either party, we account as a favour from God." They solicited the king to protect their ecclesiastical and civil institutions, declaring that they considered the chief value of the latter to consist in their subservience to the enjoyment of religious liberty. A similar address was made to parliament; and letters were written to Lord Manchester, Lord Say and Sele, and other persons of distinction, who were known to be friends of the colony, soliciting their interposition in its behalf. Leveret, the agent for the colony, was instructed, at the same time, to use every effort to procure a con-

tinuance of the exemption from customs which it had hitherto enjoyed. But before he had time to make any such vain attempt, the parliament had already established the duties of tonnage and poundage over every dominion of the crown. To make amends for this disappointment, a gracious answer to the colonial address was returned by the king, accompanied by an order for the apprehension of Whaley and Goffe. This prompt display of favour excited general satisfaction, and a day of thanksgiving was appointed, to acknowledge the favour of Heaven in moving the heart of the king to receive and incline to the desires of the people. With regard to Whaley and Goffe, the colonial authorities were greatly perplexed between the performance of a duty which it was impossible to decline, and reluctance to betray to a horrible fate two men who had lately been members of a government recognised in all the British dominions, who had fled to New England as an inviolable sanctuary from royal vengeance, and had been recommended to their kindness by letters from the most eminent of the English independent ministers. It is generally supposed, and is highly probable, that intimation was conveyed to these individuals of the orders that had been received; and, although warrants for their apprehension were issued, and by the industry of the royalists a diligent search for their persons was instituted, they were enabled, by the assistance of their friends, by dexterous evasion from state to state, and by strict seclusion, to end their days in New England [6].

CHAP. III.

1660.

1661.

[6] Mather, B. iii. Cap. ii. § 20. Neal, ii. 332. Hutchinson, i. 211, 212. Chalmers, 251. 264, &c. Small as was the number of royalists in Massachusetts, it was too great to enable the people to shelter Goffe and Whaley, as they could have wished to do. But in Newhaven there were no royalists at all; and even those who disapproved of the great action of the regicides regarded it (with more of admiration than hatred) as the error of noble and generous minds. Leet, the governor of Newhaven, and his council, when summoned by the pursuers of Goffe and Whaley to assist in the apprehension of them, first consumed abundance of time in deliberating on the extent of their powers, and then answered, that, in a matter of such importance, they could not act without the orders of an

BOOK II.

1661. Alarm of the colonists.

But the apprehensions which the colonists had originally entertained of danger to their institutions in church and state, were speedily revived by intelligence that reached them from England of the representations that were daily made to their prejudice, of the countenance that these representations visibly received from the king, and of the formidable designs that were believed to be entertained against them. It was strongly rumoured that their commercial intercourse with Virginia and the West India islands was to be cut off; that three frigates were preparing to sail from England, in order to enforce arbitrary authority; and that the armament was to be accompanied by a governor-general, whose jurisdiction was to extend over all the North American plantations. Apprehensions of these and other changes at length prevailed so strongly in Massachusetts, as to produce a public measure of a very remarkable character. The general court, having declared the necessity of promoting unity among the inhabitants in the assertion of their just privileges, and the observance of due fidelity to the authority of England, appointed a committee of eight of the most eminent persons in the state to prepare a report, ascertaining the extent of their rights and the nature of their obedience;

May. and, shortly after, the court, in conformity with the report of their committee, framed and published a

Their declaration of rights. series of resolutions expressive of their solemn and deliberate opinion on these important subjects. It was resolved that the patent (under God) is the first and main foundation of the civil policy of the colony: that the governor and company are, by the patent, a body politic invested with power to make freemen, and that these freemen have authority to

assembly. The royalist pursuers, incensed at this answer, desired the governor to say at once whether he owned and honoured the king; to which he replied, "We do honour his majesty; but we have tender consciences, and wish first to know whether he will own us." Trumbull, i. 242—245.

elect annually their governor, assistants, representatives, and all other officers: that the government thus constituted hath full power, both legislative and executive, for the government of all the people, whether inhabitants or strangers, without appeal, save only in the case of laws repugnant to those of England: that the government is privileged by all means, even by force of arms, to defend itself both by land and sea against all who should attempt injury to the plantation or its inhabitants; and that any imposition, prejudicial to the country, and contrary to its just laws, would be an infringement of the fundamental rights of the people of New England. These strong and characteristic resolutions were accompanied with a recognition of the duties to which the people were engaged by their allegiance, and which were declared to consist in upholding the colony as belonging of right to his majesty, and preventing its subjection to any foreign prince; in preserving, to the utmost of their power, the king's person and dominions; and in maintaining the peace and prosperity of the king and nation, by punishing crimes, and by propagating the gospel[7].

CHAP. III. 1661.

These proceedings indicate very plainly the alarming apprehensions that the colonists entertained of the designs of their new sovereign, and the resolution with which they clung to the dear-bought rights of which they suspected his intention to bereave them. How far they are to be considered as indicating a settled design to resist tyrannical oppression by force, is a matter of uncertain speculation. It is not improbable, that the framers of them hoped, by strongly expressing their rights, and indicating the extremities which an attempt to violate them would legally warrant, and might eventually provoke, to caution the king from awakening, in the commencement of his

[7] Hutchinson, i. 212, 213. Chalmers, 252.

BOOK II. reign, the recollection of a contest which had proved fatal to his father; and which, if once rekindled, 1661. even to an extent so little formidable as a controversy with an infant colony must appear, might soon become less unequal, by presenting an occasion of revival and exercise to passions hardly yet extinguished in England. If such were the views of the colonial leaders, the soundness of them would seem to have been approved by the event. But, in the mean time, the colonial authorities, in order to manifest their willingness to render a just obedience, issued the strictest injunctions to cause search to be made for Goffe and Whaley, and intimated, by public resolutions, that no persons obnoxious to the laws of England, and flying from her tribunals, would receive shelter in a colony that recognised her sovereign authority. Having now declared the terms on which they recognised the dominion of the English crown, the August. general court caused the king to be solemnly proclaimed as their undoubted prince and sovereign lord. They issued, at the same time, an order of court, prohibiting all disorderly behaviour on the occasion, and in particular commanding that none should presume to drink his majesty's health, "which," it was added, "he hath, in an especial manner, forbidden" —an injunction very remote from the thoughts and habits of the king, and imputed to him on no better grounds, than that drinking of healths was prohibited by the ordinances of Massachusetts. This meaningless practice, on account of its heathen original, had been offensive to the more scrupulous of the puritan settlers, who were desirous in all things to study conformity to the will of God, and ccounting nothing unimportant that afforded occasion to exercise such conformity, had at length prevailed to have the practice of drinking healths interdicted by law: and all were now desirous that the revival of royal authority

should not be signalised by a triumph over any, even what some might esteem the least important, of the colonial institutions. Intelligence having arrived soon after of the progress of the complaints that were continually exhibited to the privy council against the colony, and an order at the same time being received from the king, that deputies should be sent forthwith to England to make answer to these complaints, the court committed this important duty to Simon Bradstreet, one of the magistrates, and John Norton, one of the ministers, of Boston. These agents were instructed to maintain the loyalty and defend the conduct of the colony; to discover, if possible, what were the designs which the king meditated, or the apprehensions that he entertained; and neither to do nor agree to any thing prejudicial to the charter. They undertook their thankless office with great reluctance, and obtained before their departure a public assurance, that whatever danger they might sustain by detention of their persons or otherwise in England, should be made good by the general court[8].

CHAP. III.

1661.

December.

Whether from the vigour and resolution that the recent proceedings of the colony had displayed, or from the moderation of the wise counsellors by whom the king was then surrounded, enforced by the influence which Lord Say and some other eminent persons employed in behalf of the colony, the agents were received with unexpected favour, and were soon enabled to return to Boston with a letter from the king, confirming the colonial charter, and promising to renew it under the great seal whenever this formality should be desired. The royal letter likewise announced an amnesty for whatever treasons might have been committed during the late troubles, to all persons but those who were attainted by act of parliament, and might have fled to New England.

1662.

The king's message to Massachusetts—

[8] Hutchinson, i. 216—220. Chalmers, 253.

BOOK II.

1662.

But it contained other matters by no means acceptable to the colony: it required that the general court should hold all the ordinances it had enacted during the abeyance of royalty as invalid, and forthwith proceed to renew them, and to repeal every one that might seem repugnant to the royal authority; that the oath of allegiance should be duly administered to every person; that justice should be distributed in the king's name; that all who desired it should be permitted to use the book of common prayer, and to perform their devotions according to the ceremonial of the church of England; that, in the choice of the governor and assistants of the colony, the only qualifications to be regarded should be wisdom, virtue, and integrity, without any reference to the peculiarities of religious faith and profession; and that all freeholders of competent estates, and not vicious in their lives, should be admitted to vote in the election of officers, civil and military, whatever might be their opinion with respect to church-government. "We cannot be understood," it was added, "hereby to direct or wish that any indulgence should be granted to quakers, whose principles, being inconsistent with any kind of government, we have found it necessary, with the advice of our parliament here, to make a sharp law against them, and are well content you do the like there[9]." However reasonable some of these requisitions may now appear, the greater number of them were highly disagreeable to the colonists. They considered themselves entitled to maintain the form of polity in church and state, which they had fled to a desert in order to cultivate, without the intrusion and mixture of different principles; and they regarded with the utmost jealousy the precedent of an interference with their fundamental constitutions

[9] Hutchinson, i. 220--222. Belknap, i. 97.

by a prince who, they were firmly persuaded, desired nothing so much as to enfeeble the system which he only waited a more convenient season to destroy. To comply with the royal injunctions would be to introduce among their children the spectacles and corruptions which they had incurred such sacrifices in order to withdraw from their eyes, and to throw open every office in the state to papists, Socinians, and every unbeliever who might think power worth the purchase of a general declaration, that he was (according to his own unexamined interpretation of the term) a believer in Christianity. The king, never observing, was never able to obtain credit with his subjects for good faith or moderation; he was from the beginning suspected of a predilection for popery; and the various efforts which he made to procure a relaxation of the penal laws against the protestant dissenters in England, were viewed with jealousy and disapprobation by all these dissenters themselves, except the quakers, who regarded the other protestants and the papists as very much on a level with each other, and were made completely the dupes of the artifices by which Charles and his successor endeavoured to introduce all the intolerance of popery under the specious disguise of universal toleration.

how far complied with.

Of all the requisitions in the royal message, the only one that was complied with was that which directed the judicial proceedings to be carried on in the king's name. The letter had commanded that its contents should be published in the colony, which was accordingly done, with an intimation, however, that the requisitions relative to church and state were reserved for the deliberation which would be necessary to adjust them to the existing constitutions. The treatment which the colonial agents experienced from their countrymen, it is painful but necessary to relate. The ill humour which some of the

BOOK II.

1662.

requisitions engendered was unjustly extended to these men; and their merits, though at first eagerly acknowledged, were quickly forgotten. Strongly impressed with the danger from which the colony had obtained a present deliverance, but which still impended over it from the designs of a prince who visibly abetted every complaint of its enemies, the agents increased their unpopularity by strongly urging, that all the requisitions should be instantly complied with. Mr. Norton, who, on the first inofficial intelligence that had been received of the king's restoration, had ineffectually urged his fellow-citizens to proclaim the royal authority, in now again pressing upon them a proceeding to which they were still more averse, went the length of declaring to the general court, that if they complied not with the king's letter, they must blame themselves for the bloodshed that would ensue. Such declarations were ill calculated to soothe the popular disquiet, or recommend an ungracious cause; and the deputies, who had been actuated by the most disinterested zeal to serve rather than flatter their fellow-citizens, now found themselves opprobriously identified with the grievances of the colony, and the evils, which it was not in their power to prevent, ascribed to their neglect or unnecessary concessions. Bradstreet, who was endowed with a disposition somewhat stoical, was the less sensibly touched with this ingratitude: but Norton, who to great meekness and piety united keen sensibility, could not behold the eyes of his countrymen turned upon him with disapprobation, without the most painful emotion. When he heard many say of him, that "*he had laid the foundation for the ruin of our liberties*," he expressed no resentment, but sunk into a profound melancholy; and while struggling with his grief, and endeavouring to do his duty to the last, he died soon after of a broken

heart. Deep and vehement were then the regrets of the people; and the universal mourning that overspread the province expressed a late but lasting remembrance of his virtue, and bewailed an ungrateful error which only repentance was now permitted to repair[1]. CHAP. III. 1662.

The colony of Rhode Island had received the tidings of the restoration with much real or apparent satisfaction. It was hoped that the suspension of its charter by the Long Parliament would more than compensate the demerit of having accepted a charter from such authority; and that its exclusion from the confederacy, of which Mussachusetts was the head, would operate as a recommendation to royal favour. The king was early proclaimed; and one Clarke was soon after sent as deputy from the colony to England, in order to carry the dutiful respects of the inhabitants to the foot of the throne, and to solicit a new charter in their favour. Clarke conducted his negotiation with a baseness that rendered the success of it dearly bought. He not only vaunted the loyalty of the inhabitants of Rhode Island, while the only proof he could give of it was, that they had bestowed the name of *King's Province* on a territory which they had acquired from the Indians; but meeting this year the deputies of Massachusetts at the court, he publicly challenged them to mention any one act of duty or loyalty shown by their constituents to the present king or his father, from their first establishment in New England. Yet the inhabitants of Rhode Island had taken a patent from the Long Parliament in the commencement of its struggle with Charles the First; while Massachusetts had declined to do so when the parliament was at the height of its power and success[2]. Clarke

[1] Mather, B. iii. Cap. ii. § 21, 22. Hutchinson, i. 223. See Note X.

[2] The Rhode Islanders had also presented an address to the rulers of England in 1659, beseeching favour to themselves, as "a poor colony, an outcast people,

BOOK II.

1662.

succeeded in obtaining this year[3] a charter which assured the inhabitants of Rhode Island and Providence of the amplest enjoyment of religious liberty, and most extensive privileges with regard to jurisdiction. The patentees and such as should be admitted free of the society were incorporated by the title of the Governor and Company of the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence. The supreme or legislative power was invested in an assembly consisting of the governor, assistants, and representatives, elected from among the freemen. This assembly was empowered to make ordinances and forms of government and magistracy, with as much conformity to the laws of England as the nature of the place and condition of the people would allow; to erect courts of justice; to regulate the manner of election to all places of trust; to inflict all lawful punishments; and to exercise the prerogative of pardon. A governor, deputy governor, and ten assistants were appointed to be annually chosen by the assembly; and the first board of these officers, nominated by the charter, on the suggestion of their agent, were authorised to carry its provisions into execution. The governor and company were empowered to transport such merchandise and persons as were not prohibited by any statute of the kingdom, paying such customs as are, or ought to be, paid for the same; to exercise martial law when necessary; and upon just causes to invade and destroy the native Indians or other enemies. The territory granted to the governor and company, and their successors, was described as that part of the dominions of the crown in New England, containing the islands in Narraganset Bay, and the countries and parts adjacent,

Royal charter of incorporation to Rhode Island and Providence—

formerly from our mother nation in the bishops' days, and since from the New English over-zealous colonies." Douglas' Summary, ii. 110.

[3] Although the charter was framed in 1662, yet, in consequence of a dispute between Connecticut and Rhode Island, it was not finally passed till July, 1663.

which were declared to be holden of the manor of East Greenwich in common soccage. The inhabitants and their children were declared to be entitled to the same immunities as if they had resided or been born within the realm. This, I believe, is the first instance of the creation, by a British patent, of an authority of that peculiar description which was then established in Rhode Island. Corporations had been formerly created within the realm, for the government of colonial plantations. But now a body politic was created with specific powers for administering all the affairs of the colony within the colonial territory. The charter was received with great satisfaction by the colonists, who entered immediately into possession of the democratical constitution which it appointed for them, and continued to pursue the same system of civil and ecclesiastical policy that they had heretofore observed [4]. 1662.

and to Connecticut and Newhaven.

Though the inhabitants of Connecticut neither felt nor affected the same rejoicing that Rhode Island had expressed at the restoration of the king, they did not fail to send a deputy to England to express their recognition of the royal authority, and to solicit a new charter [5]. They were happy in the choice of the man to whom they committed this important duty, John Winthrop, the son of the eminent person of the same name who had presided with so much honour and virtue over the province of Massachusetts. This gentleman deriving a hereditary claim on the kindness of the king, from a friendship that had subsisted

[4] Chalmers, 273, 274—276. Hazard, ii. 612.

[5] At Newhaven the republican spirit was so strong, that several of the principal inhabitants declined to act as magistrates under the king. Trumbull, i. 241. It was here that Goffe and Whaley found the securest asylum, and ended their days. When a party of royal officers were coming in pursuit of them to Newhaven, Davenport, the minister of the peace, preached publicly in favour of the regicides, from the text (Isaiah, xvi. 3, 4.) "Take counsel, execute judgment; make thy shadow as the night in the midst of the noonday; hide the outcasts; bewray not him that wandereth. Let mine outcasts dwell with thee, Moab: be thou a covert to them from the face of the spoiler." Holmes' American Annals, i. 342.

BOOK II.

1662.

between his grandfather and Charles the First [6], employed it so successfully as to obtain for his constituents a charter in almost every respect the same with that which had been granted to Rhode Island. The most considerable differences were, that by the Connecticut charter the governor was required to administer the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to the inhabitants; a formality which was not required by the charter of Rhode Island, where many of the people scrupled to take an oath; and that, by the last-mentioned charter, liberty of conscience was expressly conceded in its fullest extent, while the other made no express mention of the concerns of religion, and no other allusion to them, than what might seem to be implied in the requisition of the oath of supremacy. By this charter, Newhaven was united with Connecticut; an arrangement which for some time did not obtain the unanimous approbation of the people of Newhaven, although they afterwards heartily concurred in it; and the description of the provincial territory was indefinite and incorrect. But on the whole it gave so much satisfaction, that Winthrop, on his return, was received with the grateful approbation of his fellow citizens, and annually chosen governor of the united colony as long as he lived [7].

There was thus established by royal charters, both in Connecticut and Rhode Island, a perfect model of democratic government; and the singular spectacle of subordinate political corporations almost wholly disconnected by any efficient tie with the organ of sovereign authority. Every power, as well deliberative as active, was invested in the freemen of

[6] Cotton Mather relates, that when Winthrop presented the king with a ring which Charles the First had given to his grandfather, "the king not only accepted his present, but also declared that he accounted it one of his richest jewels, which indeed was the opinion that New England had of the hand that carried it." B. ii. Cap. xi. § 5. See Note XI.

[7] Mather, B. ii. Cap. xi. § 5. Chalmers, 293, 4. 296. Hazard, ii. 597.

the corporation or their delegates; and the supreme executive magistrate of the empire was excluded from every constitutional means of interposition or control. A conformity to the laws of England, no doubt, was enjoined on the colonial legislatures; and this conformity was conditioned as the tenure by which their privileges were enjoyed; but no method of ascertaining or enforcing its observance was established. At a later period, the crown lawyers of England were sensible of the oversight which their predecessors had committed, and proposed that an act of parliament should be obtained for obliging these colonies to transmit their laws for the inspection and approbation of the king. But this suggestion was never carried into effect[8].

CHAP. LII. 1662.

[8] Chalmers, 294, 5.

CHAPTER IV.

Emigration of ejected Ministers to New England.—Royal Commissioners sent to the Province.—Address of the Assembly of Massachusetts to the King—rejected.—Policy pursued by the Commissioners.—Their Disputes with the Government of Massachusetts—and Return to England.—Policy of the Colonists to conciliate the King—Effects of it.—Cession of Acadie to the French.—Prosperous State of New England.—Conspiracy of the Indians.—Philip's War.—The King resumes his Designs against Massachusetts.—Controversy respecting the Right to Maine and New Hampshire.—Progress of the Dispute between the King and the Colony.—State of Parties in Massachusetts.—State of Religion and Morals.—Surrender of the Charter of Massachusetts demanded by the King—refused by the Colonists.—Writ of Quo Warranto issued against the Colony.—Firmness of the People.—Their Charter adjudged to be forfeited.

BOOK II.

1663.

SETTLED originally by people of the same nation, and whom the same motives had conducted to America, and assimilated by their religious tenets, their government, laws, and manners, a similar policy naturally pervaded all the colonies of New England. The commercial system which the English parliament thought fit to pursue tended still further to confirm this identity of interest and purpose in the colonies. The navigation acts which it framed, and which we have considered at much length in the history of Virginia, created for a time more discontent than inconvenience, and served rather to announce than to enforce the restrictions with which it was intended to fetter the colonial trade. These restrictions were a copious source of displeasure and controversy between the two countries. The colonies had been accustomed in their infancy to a free trade, and its surrender was exacted with the more injustice

and yielded with the greater reluctance, because England was not then a mart in which all the produce of the colonies could be vended, or from which all the wants of their inhabitants could be supplied. Even in the southern colonies, where similar restraints had been enforced by Cromwell, the act of navigation was executed very imperfectly; and in New England, where the governors were elected by the people, it appears, for a considerable time, to have been entirely disregarded [1]. 1663.

If the commercial policy of the English parliament thus strongly tended to unite the colonies by community of interest and opposition to the parent state, the ecclesiastical policy which now prevailed in England was calculated in no slight degree to promote the remembrance of the original causes of secession from her territory, and at once to revive their influence, and enforce the virtue of toleration by sympathy with the victims of an opposite policy. In consequence of the rigid enforcement of the act of uniformity in the close of the preceding year, about two thousand of the English clergy, the most eminent of the order for piety, virtue, and knowledge, were ejected from the church; and, to the astonishment of the prevailing party, sacrificed their interests to their conscience. They were afterwards banished to the distance of five miles from every corporation in England, and many of them died in prison for privately exercising their ministry contrary to law. While the majority of them remained in England to preserve by their teaching and their sufferings the decaying piety of their native land, a considerable number were conducted to New England, there to invigorate the national virtue by a fresh example of conscientious sacrifice, and to form a living and touching memorial of the cruelty and injustice of into-

Emigration of ejected ministers to New England.

[1] Chalmers, 277. 297.

BOOK II.

1663.

lerance[2]. The merits and the sufferings of these men made a strong impression on the people of New England; and this year an invitation was despatched to the celebrated Dr. John Owen, one of the greatest scholars and divines that the world has ever produced, to accept an ecclesiastical appointment in Massachusetts. Owen declined to avail himself of this invitation on account of the cloud of royal displeasure which he perceived to be gathering against Massachusetts, and the designs which he had reason to believe would be soon undertaken for the subjugation of its civil and religious liberties. Other countries besides America contended for the honour of sheltering this illustrious man from the persecution of the church of England, and the happiness and advantage that might be expected from his sojourn. But he preferred suffering in a country where his language was understood, to enjoyment and honour among a people with whom his communication must necessarily have been more restricted. At a later period, when the presidency of Harvard college was offered to him, he consented to embrace this sphere of useful and important duty; and having shipped his effects for New England, was preparing to accompany them, when his steps were arrested by an order from Charles, expressly commanding him not to depart from the kingdom[3].

The apprehension which the inhabitants of Massachusetts had entertained all along of the hostile designs of the English government, and which had been confirmed by the reasons assigned by Dr. Owen for refusing the first invitation which they had tendered to him, were strengthened by all the intelligence they

[2] When the proceedings against the congregationalists in England were complained of, these dissenters were told by an eminent English prelate (Stillingfleet) that the severities which they so much resented were justified by the proceedings of their own brethren in New England against dissenters from the established worship there. Stillingfleet's Mischiefs of Separation.

[3] Neal, ii. 337—339. Hutchinson, i. 225, 226.

received from England. A great number of the ejected non-conformist ministers who had taken measures for proceeding to Massachusetts, now declined to embark for a country on which the extremity of royal vengeance was daily expected to descend: and at length the most positive information was received that the king had declared that, although he was willing to preserve the colonial charter, he was determined to send out commissioners to inquire and report how far the provisions of the charter were legally complied with. Tidings no less indubitable arrived soon after of the rupture between Great Britain and Holland, of the determination of the king to despatch an expedition for the reduction of the Dutch settlement of New York, and to send along with it a body of commissioners who were empowered to hear and determine (according to their own discretion) all complaints in causes civil or military that might exist within New England, and to take every step that they might judge necessary for settling the peace and security of the country on a solid foundation. This information was correct; and a commission for these purposes, as well as for the reduction of New York, had been issued by the king to Sir Robert Carr, Colonel Nichols, George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick. These tidings, in concurrence with the reports that had long prevailed of the designs entertained by the court of England against the liberties of the colonists, were calculated to strike them with dismay. They knew that plausible pretexts were not wanting to justify an inquiry into their proceedings; but they were also aware that the dislike and suspicion with which they were regarded by the king could never be satisfied by any measure short of the utter subversion of their institutions. Various controversies had arisen between the different settlements concerning the boundaries

Royal commissioners sent to the province.

BOOK II.

1663.

of their respective territories; and loud complaints were preferred by the representatives of Mason, and by Gorges, and other members of the old council of Plymouth, of the occupation of districts and sovereignties to which they claimed a preferable right. The claim of Mason to New Hampshire, derived from the assignment of the Plymouth council, had never been expressly surrendered; and Gorges' title to Maine had been confirmed and enlarged by a grant from the late king in the year 1639. As Gorges had adhered to the royal cause in the civil wars, the death of the king proved the temporary death of his patent: and he as well as Mason's heirs had long abandoned their projects in despair of ever prosecuting them to a successful issue. But now the revival of royalty in England presented them with an opportunity of vindicating their claims; and the establishment of inhabitants in the territories promised advantage from such vindication. They had as yet got no return for the money they had expended on their acquisitions: but they now embraced the prospect and claimed the right of entering upon the labours of others, who in ignorance of their pretensions had occupied and colonized a vacant soil, and held it by the title of fair purchase from its native proprietors. In addition to this formidable controversy, many complaints had been preferred by royalists, quakers, and episcopalians, of abuses in the civil and ecclesiastical administration of Massachusetts. The adjustment of these controversies and investigation of these complaints were the principal reasons assigned for the commission [4]. But, doubt-

[4] In addition to these reasons, the commission sets forth that complaints have been made to his majesty of acts of violence and injustice by the colonial authorities against the natives of America, "whereby not only our government is traduced, but the reputation and credit of christian religion is brought into reproach and prejudice with the gentiles and inhabitants of those countries who know not God; the reduction of whom to the true knowledge of God is the end of these plantations," &c.—a statement of matchless falsehood and effrontery.

less, the main object of concern to the English court was the suppression or essential modification of institutions founded and administered on principles that had so long waged war with monarchy, and so lately prevailed over it. The colonists very readily believed the accounts they received from their friends in England of this hostile disposition of their sovereign; and the public orders by which they had cautioned the enemies of his government not to expect shelter in Massachusetts, had been intended to remove or appease it. When intelligence was received of the visitation that must soon be expected from England, the general court of Massachusetts appointed a day of fasting and prayer to be observed throughout its jurisdiction, in order to implore the mercy of God under their many distractions and troubles: and apprehending it to be of the greatest concernment that the patent or charter should be kept "safe and secret," they ordered their secretary to bring it into court, and to deliver it to four of the members of court, who were directed to dispose of it in such manner as they should judge most consistent with the safety of the country. Aware of the usual licentiousness of sailors and soldiers, and recollecting the peculiar strictness of the colonial laws, the court adopted at the same time the most prudent precautions for preventing the necessity of either a hazardous enforcement, or a dishonest and pusillanimous relaxation of its municipal ordinances [5].

CHAP. IV.

1663.

The royal expedition having arrived at Boston in the following year, the commissioners presented their credentials to the governor and council, and demanded in the first instance, that a body of troops should be raised to accompany the English forces in the invasion of New York. The governor not being

1664.

[5] Hutchinson, i. 225. 229, 230, and Appendix, p. 535. Belknap. Sullivan. Hazard, ii. 638.

BOOK II. 1664.

empowered by the forms of the constitution to raise forces without the consent of the general court, proceeded to convoke that body: but the commissioners not having leisure to wait its deliberations, proceeded with the fleet against New York, desiring the colonial auxiliaries to follow as quickly as possible, and signifying to the governor and council that they had many important communications to make to them on their return from New York, and that in the mean time the general court would do well to give a fuller consideration than they seemed yet to have done to the letter which the king had addressed to them two years before. The vague mysterious terms of this communication were powerfully calculated, and would seem to have been deliberately intended, to increase the disquiet and apprehensions of the colonists. That they produced this impression in a very strong degree is manifest from the proceedings that were adopted by the general court. On the assembling of that body it was declared by an immediate and unanimous vote that they were "resolved to bear true allegiance to his majesty, and to adhere to a patent so dearly obtained and so long enjoyed by undoubted right." They proceeded to render a prompt obedience to the requisition of the commissioners, and had raised a regiment of two hundred men, who were preparing to proceed for New York, when intelligence was received from the commissioners that the place had already surrendered, and that the junction of the English and colonial forces was no longer necessary. The assembly next resumed consideration of the king's letter, which had been so emphatically commended to their deliberation, and passed a law extending the elective franchise to all the inhabitants of English or colonial birth, paying public rates to a certain amount, and certified by a minister as orthodox in their principles and not

CHAP. IV.

1664.

immoral in their lives, whether within or without the pale of the established church. They next proceeded to frame and transmit to the king an address strongly expressive of their present apprehensions and their habitual sentiments. They set forth at considerable length the dangers and difficulties they had encountered in founding and rearing their settlement; the explicit confirmation which their privileges had received both from the present king and his predecessor; and their own subjection to royal authority, and willingness to testify their duty in any righteous way. They expressed their concern at the appointment of four commissioners, one of whom (Maverick) was their known and professed enemy, who were vested with an indefinite authority, in the exercise of which they were to proceed, not in conformity with any established law, but according to their own discretion; and they declared, that although as yet they had but tasted the words and actions of these persons, they had enough to satisfy them that the powers derived from the commission would be improved to the complete subversion of the provincial government. If any profit was expected to be gained by the imposition of new rules and the bereavement of their liberties, the design, they protested, would produce only disappointment; for the country was so poor that it produced little more than a bare subsistence to its inhabitants, and the people were so much attached to their institutions that, if deprived of them in America, they would seek them in new and more distant habitations; and, if they were driven out of the country, it would not be easy to find another race of inhabitants who would be willing to sojourn in it[6]. They appealed to God, that they

Address of the assembly of Massachusetts to the king—

[6] It is curious to observe the expression of a similar sentiment by the inhabitants of the province of Arragon in the days of their freedom. It is declared in the preamble to one of the laws of Arragon, that such was the barrenness of the country and the poverty of the inhabitants, that if it were not for the sake of the

BOOK III

1664. came not into this wilderness to seek great things for themselves, but for the sake of a quiet life, and concluded in the following strains of earnest anxiety:—"Let our government live, our patent live, our magistrates live, our laws and liberties live, our religious enjoyments live: so shall we all yet have farther cause to say from our hearts, Let the king live for ever." Letters suing for favour and friendly mediation were transmitted at the same time to several of the English nobility, and particularly to the chancellor, Lord Clarendon. But these applications were no longer attended with success. Lord Clarendon was no friend to puritan establishments; he had instigated the persecution that was then carrying on against the sectaries of every denomination in England; and he was at present too painfully sensible of his declining credit with the king, to risk the farther provocation of his displeasure by opposing a favourite scheme of royal policy. In a letter to the governor, he defended the commission as a constitutional [7] exercise of royal power and wisdom, and strongly indicative of his majesty's grace and goodness; and recommended to the colonists, by a prompt submission, to deprecate the indignation which their ungrateful clamour must already have excited in the breast of the king. The answer of Charles, which was transmitted by Secre-

rejected. tary Morrice, to the address of the general court, excited less surprise. It reproached that assembly

liberties by which they were distinguished from other nations, the people would abandon it and go in quest of a settlement to some more fruitful region. Robertson's View of the State of Europe, sect. 3. History of Charles the Fifth.

7 Even Chalmers, though the panegyrist of Charles and his policy, and animated with the strongest dislike and contempt of the colonists, expresses his surprise that Clarendon should defend the commission as a constitutional act; observing, that "an act of parliament was assuredly necessary in order to cut up effectually those principles of independence that had rooted with the settlement of New England." p. 388. One of the articles of impeachment against Lord Clarendon was, "That he introduced an arbitrary government in his majesty's plantations." But this charge seems to have related to some proceedings in Barbadoes. Howel's State Trials, vol. vi. p. 331, &c.

with making unreasonable and groundless complaints; justified the commission as the only proper method of rectifying the colonial disorders; and affected to consider the address as "the contrivance of a few persons who infuse jealousies into their fellow subjects as if their charter were in danger[8]." 1664.

Having effected the conquest of New York, the commissioners proceeded to the exercise of their civil functions in New England. One of the first official acts that they were called on to perform, was the adjustment of a dispute respecting boundaries, that arose out of the occupation of the New York territory. A patent had been granted to the Duke of York of all the territory occupied by the Dutch, including large districts that had been already comprehended in the charter of Connecticut. A controversy concerning limits had thus been created by the deliberate act of the crown, between the state of Connecticut and the new province erected by the patent to the Duke of York. Their boundaries were now adjusted by the commissioners in a manner which appears to have been highly satisfactory to the people of Connecticut, but which entailed a great deal of subsequent dispute. Another controversy, in which Connecticut was involved, arose out of a claim to part of its territory preferred by the Duke of Hamilton and others, in virtue of the rights that had accrued to themselves or their ancestors as members of the grand council of Plymouth. The commissioners, desirous of giving satisfaction to both parties, adjudged the property of the disputed soil to these individual claimants, but declared the right of government to pertain to Connecticut. 1665.

It appears manifestly to have been their policy to detach the other New England states from the obnoxious province of Massachusetts, and to procure their cooperation by the example of implicit

Policy pursued by the commissioners.

[8] Hutchinson, i. 231, 232, and Append. p. 537. 544. Chalmers, 387.

BOOK submission on their own part, and the accumulation of complaints against that province, in the design of abridging her liberties and altering her institutions. In the prosecution of this policy they were but partially successful. The people of Connecticut received the commissioners with the utmost coldness, and plainly showed that they regarded their proceedings with aversion, and considered the cause of Massachusetts as their own. So strongly impressed were the inhabitants of this state with the danger to their liberties from the interposition of such arbitrary authority, that some disagreements, which had subsisted between Connecticut and Newhaven, and which had hitherto prevented their union under the late charter by which they had been associated, were entirely composed by the very tidings of the visitation of the commissioners. At Plymouth the commissioners met with little opposition, the inhabitants being deterred from the expression of their sentiments by a consciousness of their weakness, and being exempted from the apprehensions that prevailed in the more powerful states by a sense of their insignificance. In Rhode Island alone was their insidious policy attended with success. There, the people received them with every mark of deference and attention; their inquiries were answered, and their mandates obeyed or assented to without any demur to the authority from which they proceeded: and during their stay in this settlement they were enabled to amplify their reports with numberless complaints against the injustice and misgovernment alleged to have been committed in Massachusetts. This people, as we have seen, had gained their late charter by a display of subservience and devotion to the crown; and the liberal institutions which it introduced had not yet had time to form a spirit that disdained to hold the enjoyment of liberty by so ignoble a tenure.

1665

CHAP. IV.

1663.

The freedom thus spuriously begotten was tainted in its birth by principles that long rendered its existence precarious; and we shall find the inhabitants of Rhode Island, a few years after, abjectly offering to strip themselves of the privileges which they had gained so ill, and of which they now showed themselves unworthy by their willingness to strengthen the hands that were preparing to oppress the liberties of Massachusetts. We must not, however, discard from our recollection that Rhode Island was yet but a feeble community, and that the unfavourable sentiments with which many of its inhabitants regarded Massachusetts, arose from the persecution which their religious tenets had experienced in that province. Their conduct to the commissioners received the warmest approbation from Charles, who assured them that he would never be unmindful of the claims they had acquired on his goodness by a demeanour so replete with duty and humility[9]. In justice to the king, whose word was proverbially the object of very little reliance, we may observe that he does not appear ever after to have withdrawn his favour from Rhode Island; and in justice to a moral lesson that would be otherwise incomplete, we may here so far anticipate the order of time as to remark, that when Charles's successor proceeded to extend to Rhode Island the destruction in which the liberties of the other New England provinces had been involved, and when the people endeavoured to avert the blow by a repetition of the abjectness that had formerly availed them, their prostration was disregarded, and their complete subjection pursued and effected with an insolence that feelingly taught them to detest oppression and despise servility.

It was in Massachusetts that the main object of the commission was to be pursued; and from the

[9] Hutchinson, i. 249, 250. Chalmers, 277. 296.

BOOK II.

1665.

difference between the purposes as well as the opinions entertained by the English government and the colonial authorities, it was undoubtedly foreseen that the proceedings of the commissioners would beget the most resolute opposition. Among other communications which the commissioners were charged by the king to impress on the colonists, was, that he considered them to stand in precisely the same relation to him as the inhabitants of Kent or Yorkshire in England. Very different was the opinion that prevailed among the colonists. They considered that, having been forced by persecution to depart from the realm of England, and having established themselves by their own unassisted efforts in territories which they had purchased from the original proprietors, they retained no other political connexion with their sovereign than what was created by their charter, which they regarded as the sole existing compact between the parent state and themselves, and as specifying all the particulars and limits of their obedience. The acknowledged difference of sentiment in religion and politics between themselves and their ancient rulers in which their settlement had originated, and the habits of self-government that they had long been enabled to indulge, confirmed their prepossessions, and had tended generally and deeply to impress the conviction that their original allegiance as natives of England and subjects of the crown was entirely dissolved, and superseded by the stipulations which they had voluntarily contracted by accepting their charter. These opinions, however strongly cherished, it was not prudent distinctly to profess; but their prevalence is alleged by a respectable colonial historian, on the authority of certain manuscript compositions of the leading persons in Massachusetts at this period, which he had an opportunity of examining. The colonists

were not the less attached to these opinions, from the apprehension that they would find as little favour in the eyes of the English government as those which had led to the persecution and emigration of their ancestors: they were indeed totally repugnant to the principles of the English law, which holds the allegiance of subjects to their sovereign, not as a local or provisional, but as a perpetual and indissoluble tie, which distance of place does not sunder, nor lapse of time relax. Forcibly aware of these differences of opinion, of the dangerous collisions which they might beget, and of the disadvantages with which they must conduct a discussion with persons who sought nothing so much as to find or make them offenders, the colonists awaited, with much anxiety, the proceedings of the commissioners[1].

CHAP. IV. 1665.

The temper and disposition of these commissioners increased the probability of an unfriendly issue to their discussions with the colonial authorities. If conciliation was, as the king professed, the object which he had in view in issuing the commission, he was singularly unfortunate in the selection of the instruments to whom the discharge of its important duties was confided. Nichols was a man of sense and moderation; but it was for the reduction and subsequent settlement of the affairs of New York, that he had been mainly appointed: he remained at that place after its capitulation; and when he afterwards rejoined his colleagues, he found himself unable to control their proceedings, or repair the breach they had already created. The other commissioners appear to have been remarkable for no other qualities than insolence, presumption, and incapacity[2], to

[1] Hutchinson, i. 236. 251—253.

[2] The senselessness of their proceedings appears very manifestly from a case related at considerable length by the colonial historians. They had been drinking one Saturday night in a tavern after the hours when, by the colonial laws, all taverns were ordered to be shut. A constable, who warned them not to infringe the law, was beaten by them. Hearing that Mason, another con-

BOOK III.

1665. April.

Their disputes with the government of Massachusetts—

which Maverick farther added an inveterate hostility to the colony which had induced him for years to solicit the commission which he now eagerly hastened to execute. On their return to Boston, the very first requisition which they made to the governor demonstrated how little they were disposed to recognise the colonial authorities; for they required that all the inhabitants of the province should be assembled to receive and reply to their communication; and when the governor desired to know the reason for such a proceeding, they answered, "that the motion was so reasonable, that he who would not attend to it was a traitor." They afterwards thought proper to make trial of a more conciliating tone, and informed the general court that they had properly represented to the king the promptness with which his commands had been obeyed in the raising of a colonial regiment; but it afterwards appeared that they had actually made a representation of a perfectly opposite import to the secretary of state. The suspicions which the commissioners and the general court reciprocally entertained of each other, effectually prevented any cordial co-operation between them. The communications of the commissioners display the most lofty ideas of their own authority as representatives of the crown, with a preconceived opinion that there was an indisposition on the part of the general court to pay due respect to that authority, as well as to the source from which it was derived. The answers of the general court manifest an anxious desire to avoid a contest with the crown, and to gratify his Majesty by professions of

stable, had declared that *he* would not have been deterred by their violence from doing his duty, they sent for him, and extorted from him an admission that he would have arrested the king himself if he had found him drinking in a public-house after lawful hours. They insisted that he should be tried for high treason, and actually prevailed to have this injustice committed. The jury returned a special verdict; and the court, considering the words offensive and insolent, but not treasonable, inflicted only a slight punishment. Hutchinson, i. 254, 255.

loyalty and submission, and by every change that seemed likely to meet his wishes, without compromising the fundamental principles of their institutions. They expressed, at the same time, a deliberate conviction of having done nothing that merited displeasure or required apology, and a steady determination to abide by the charter. Under such circumstances, the correspondence soon degenerated into an altercation. The commissioners at length demanded from the court an explicit answer to the question, if they acknowledged the authority of his Majesty's commission? but the court desired to be excused from giving any other answer, than that they acknowledged the authority of his Majesty's charter, with which they were a great deal better acquainted. Finding that their object was not to be attained by threats or expostulations, the commissioners attempted a practical assertion of their powers: they granted letters of protection to parties under prosecution before the colonial court; and in a civil suit, which had been already determined by the colonial judges, they promoted an appeal to themselves from the unsuccessful party, and summoned him and his adversary to plead their cause before them. The general court perceived that they must now or never make a stand in defence of their authority; and, with a decision which showed the high value they entertained for their privileges, and the vigour with which they were prepared to protect them, they proclaimed, by sound of trumpet, their disapprobation of this measure, and declared that, in discharge of their duty to God and the king, and of the trust reposed in them by the king's good subjects in the colony, they could not consent to such proceedings, nor countenance those who would conduct or abet them. They accompanied this vigorous step with an offer to compromise the matter by hearing the cause themselves in

CHAP. IV. 1665.

BOOK II.

1665. presence of the commissioners; but this proposition was scornfully rejected, and every effort to reunite these conflicting authorities proved utterly unavailing.

Suspending for a time their proceedings at Boston, the commissioners proceeded to New Hampshire and Maine, and instantly giving judgment in favour of the claims of Mason and Gorges against the government of Massachusetts, they suppressed the existing authorities, and erected a royal government in each of these provinces. On their return to Boston, the general court declared that these proceedings tended to the disturbance of the public peace, and demanded a conference with the commissioners, which was refused with a bitterness of expression that put an end to all further communication. Sir Robert Carr even went the length of assuring the general court that the king's pardon for their manifold treasons during the late rebellion had been entirely conditional, and was forfeited by their evil behaviour; and that the contrivers of their late measures would speedily experience the punishment which their associates in rebellion had lately met with in England.

The king having been apprised of these proceedings, and assured by the commissioners that it was fruitless for them to continue a treaty with persons who were determined to misconstrue all their words

1666. and actions, issued letters, recalling the commissioners

and return to England. to England, expressing his satisfaction with all the colonies except Massachusetts, and commanding the general court of this province to send deputies to plead their cause before himself. But the inhabitants of Massachusetts were well aware that in such a controversy they could not have the most remote chance of success, and that it was not by the cogency of argument they could hope to pacify the displeasure of their sovereign. Instead of complying with

this injunction, the general court addressed a letter to the secretary of state, in which they hinted real or pretended doubts of the authority of the royal letter, and declared that the case had already been so fully pleaded that the ablest among them would be utterly unable to render it any clearer. At the same time they endeavoured to appease his majesty by humble addresses expressive of their loyalty; and in order to demonstrate the sense they attached to their professions, they purchased a ship-load of masts, which they presented to the king; and hearing that his fleet in the West Indies was in want of provisions, they promoted a contribution among themselves, and victualled it at their own expense. The king accepted their presents very graciously; and a letter under the sign manual having been transmitted to the general court, declaring that their zeal for the royal service was "taken well by his majesty," the cloud that had gathered over the colony in this quarter seemed for the present to be dispersed[3]. Nevertheless, the design that had been prosecuted to such a length, of remodelling the institutions of New England, was by no means abandoned. The report of the commissioners had furnished Charles with the very pretexts that were wanting to the accomplishment of his plans: and the proceedings which at a later period he adopted, evinced that it was not the dutiful professions or liberalities of the colonists that would deter him from availing himself of pretexts which he had made such efforts to obtain. But the great plague which broke out with such violence as in one year to destroy ninety thousand of the inhabitants of London, and to banish for a time the seat of government to Oxford—the great fire of London[4], the wars and intrigues on the con-

Policy of the colonists to conciliate the king—

effects of it.

[3] Hutchinson, i. 238—249. 253. 257. Chalmers, 389, 390.

[4] A liberal contribution was made by the people of Massachusetts, and transmitted to London for relief of the sufferers by the fire. Hutchinson, i. 257. The

BOOK II. 1665. tinent, and the rising discontents of the people of England, occupied so entirely the attention of the king, as to suspend the execution of his designs against the government of Massachusetts.

After the departure of the royal commissioners, the provinces of New England enjoyed for some years a quiet and prosperous condition. The only disturbance which their internal tranquillity sustained, arose from the persecutions which in all the states, except Rhode Island, continued to be waged against the anabaptists, as these sectaries from time to time attempted to propagate their tenets and establish their ordinances. Letters were written in their behalf to the colonial magistrates by the most eminent dissenting ministers in England: but though it was strongly urged by the writers of these letters, that the severe persecution which the anabaptists were then enduring in England should recommend them to the sympathy of the colonists[5], and that their conversion was more likely to be effected by holding forth to them the peaceable fruits of righteousness than by pursuing their errors and infirmities with penal inflictions, which could have no other effect than to ensnare or oppress their consciences, the interposition of these persons, though respectfully received, was utterly disregarded. The colonial authorities persisted in believing that they were doing God service by employing the civil power with which they were invested, to guard their territories from the intrusion of heresy, and to maintain the purity of those religious princi-

people of New England have always been honourably distinguished by their charitable participation of the misfortunes of other communities. In the year 1703, they contributed £2000 for the relief of the inhabitants of Nevis and St. Christophers, which had been ravaged by the French. Holmes, ii. 69.

[5] The colonists might have pondered, with advantage, an observation of their ancient friend, that eminent and greatly misrepresented man Hugh Peters, while he was awaiting his execution in Newgate. Some in the prison speaking of the differences in religion, Mr. Peters said, "Pray talk not of controversies now; *we have but a little time to live*, and cannot spend it in such discourses." Trials and Deaths of the Regicides.

ples for the preservation of which their settlements had been originally formed. A considerable number of anabaptists were fined, imprisoned, and banished: and persecution produced its usual effect of confirming and propagating the tenets which it attempted to extirpate, by causing the professors of them to connect them in their own minds, and to exhibit them to others in connection with suffering for conscience sake. These proceedings, however, contributed more to stain the character of the colonies than to disturb their tranquillity. Much greater disquiet was created by the intelligence of the cession of Acadie, or as it had come to be termed *Nova Scotia*, to the French at the treaty of Breda. Nothing had contributed more to promote the commerce and security of New England than the conquest of that province by Cromwell; and the inhabitants of Massachusetts, apprised of the extreme solicitude of the French to regain it, and justly regarding such an issue as pregnant with danger to themselves, sent agents to England to remonstrate against it. But the influence of the French proved too powerful for the interest of the people; and the conduct of Charles on this occasion evinced as little concern for the external security of the colonies, as his previous proceedings had shown respect for their internal liberties. The French regained possession of their ancient establishment: and both New England and the mother country had afterwards abundant cause to regret the admission of a restless and litigious neighbour, who for years exerted her peculiar arts of intrigue to interrupt the pursuits and disturb the repose of the English colonists [6].

CHAP. IV.

1666.

1667. Cession of Acadie to the French.

The government of Massachusetts was highly acceptable to the great body of the people; and even those acts of its administration that imposed re-

[6] Neal, ii. 353—356. Chalmers, 393.

BOOK II. straints on civil liberty were respected on account of their manifest design, and their supposed efficiency to promote an object which the people held dearer than liberty itself. A printing press had been established at Cambridge for upwards of twenty years; and the general court had recently appointed two persons to be licensers of the press, and prohibited the publication of any books or papers that had not undergone their supervision. The licensers having given their sanction to the publication of Thomas à Kempis' admirable treatise *De Imitatione Christi*, the court interposed, and, declaring that "the book was written by a popish minister, and contained some things less safe to be infused among the people," they recommended a more diligent revisal to the licensers, and in the meantime suspended the publication. In a constitution less popular, such an act would have been esteemed an iniquitous abridgement of the liberty of the subject. But the government of Massachusetts expressed, and was supported by, the sentiments and opinions of the people; and so acceptable was its administration, that the inhabitants of New Hampshire and Maine rejecting the constitution they had received from the royal commissioners, again solicited and were received into the rank of dependencies on its jurisdiction. All traces of the visitation of these commissioners having been thus effaced, and the apprehensions that their measures had excited forgotten, the affairs of the colonies continued for several years to glide on in a course of silent but cheerful prosperity[7]. The navigation act

1667.

1668.

Prosperous state of New England.

[7] In the year 1672, the laws of Connecticut (till then preserved in manuscript, and promulgated by public proclamation in the respective towns) were collected into a code, printed, and published. The preface, written with a solemnity that might serve to introduce a body of divinity, commences in this manner:—"To our beloved brethren and neighbours, the inhabitants of Connecticut, the general court of that colony wish grace and peace in our Lord Jesus." It was ordered that every householder should have a copy of the code, and that the capital laws should be read weekly in every family. Trumbull, i. 290. 322.

In Connecticut, by a law of 1667 (still existing), three years' voluntary separation of married persons is held to dissolve their matrimonial engagement.

not being enforced by the establishment of a custom-house, and depending for its execution upon officers annually elected by their fellow citizens, was entirely disregarded. The people enjoyed a commerce as extensive as they could desire; a consequent increase of wealth was visible among the merchants and planters; and a spirit of industry and economy prevailing no less generally, the plantations were diligently improved, and the settlements considerably extended. From a document preserved in the archives of the colonial office of England, and published by Chalmers, it appears, that in the year 1673 New England was estimated to contain one hundred and twenty thousand souls, of whom about sixteen thousand were able to bear arms; and of the merchants and planters there were no fewer than five thousand persons, each of whom was worth £3000 [8]. Three-fourths of the wealth and population of the country centred in the territory of Massachusetts and its dependencies. The town of Boston alone contained fifteen hundred families. Theft was rare, and beggary unknown in New England. Josselyn, who returned about two years before this period from his second visit to America, commends highly the beauty and agreeableness of the towns and villages of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and the substantial structure and comfort of all the private dwellings [9]. During this interval of tranquil prosperity, many of the most aged inhabitants of New England closed the career of a long and interesting life, and the original race of settlers was now almost entirely extinguished. The annals of this period are filled

CHAP. IV.

1668—1672.

1673.

[8] John Dunton, who visited New England about twelve years after this period, mentions a merchant in Salem worth £30,000. Dunton's Life and Errors, p. 171.

[9] Josselyn's Second Voyage. Even at this early period Josselyn has remarked the prevalence of that inveterate but unexplained peculiarity of the premature decay of the teeth of white persons, and especially women, in North America, p. 185.

BOOK II. 1673.

with accounts of their deaths, of the virtues by which they had contributed to the foundation of the new commonwealth, and of the fondness with which their closing eyes lingered upon its prosperity. To our view, enlarged by the acquaintance which history supplies of the approaching calamities from which these persons were thus happily removed, not the least enviable circumstance of their lot appears to have been that they died in scenes so fraught with serene enjoyment and agreeable promise, and bequeathed to their descendants not only the example of their virtue, but the fruits of it, in a prosperity as eminent as any people was ever blessed with. Yet, so short-sighted and imperfect are the views of men, so strongly are they led by an instinctive and unquenchable propensity to figure and desire something better than they behold, and so apt to restrict to the present fleeting and disordered scene the suggestions of this secret longing after original and immortal perfection, that many of the fathers of the colony could not refrain from lamenting that they had been born too soon to see more than the first faint dawn of New England's glory. Others, with greater enlargement of wisdom and piety, considered that *the eye is not satisfied with seeing*, nor the conceptions of an immortal spirit capable of being adequately filled by any thing short of the vision of its Divine Author, for whose contemplation it was created; and were contented to drop like leaves into the bosom of their adopted country, in the confidence of being gathered into nobler and more lasting habitations [1].

1674. Conspiracy of the Indians.

The state of prosperous repose which New England had enjoyed for several years was interrupted by a formidable combination of the Indian tribes, that produced a war so general and bloody as to threaten for some time the utter destruction of the plantations.

[1] Hutchinson, i. 257—270. Chalmers, 434. Neal, ii. cap. 8, *passim*.

This hostile combination was promoted by a young chief whose character and history remind us of the enterprises of Opechancanough in Virginia. He was the second son of Massassoiet, a prince who had ruled a powerful tribe inhabiting territories adjacent to the settlement of Plymouth at the time when the English first settled in the country. The father had entered into an alliance with the colonists, and, after his death, his two sons demonstrated an earnest desire to retain and cultivate their friendship. They even repaired to the court of Plymouth, and requested, as a mark of identification with their allies, that English names might be given them; and, in compliance with their desire, the elder had received the name of Alexander, and the younger of Philip. But it very soon appeared that these demonstrations of good will were but the artifice that entered into their schemes of hostility; and they were both shortly after detected in an ineffectual attempt to involve the Naragansets in hostilities with the colonists. The disappointment of that attempt overwhelmed the proud spirit of the elder brother with such intolerable rage and mortification, that, in spite of, and perhaps still more deeply wounded by, the conciliating demeanour of the colonists, he was unable long to survive the detection of his villany and discomfiture of his designs. Philip, after the death of his brother, renewed the alliance between his tribe and the English, but intended nothing less than the observance of his engagements. Daring, cruel, and perfidious, he meditated a universal conspiracy of the Indians for the extirpation of the colonists, and for several years carried on his designs as secretly and effectually as the numerous difficulties that surrounded him would permit. Next to the growing power of the colonial settlements, nothing seemed to excite his indignation more strongly than the progress of their missionary la-

CHAP. IV. 1674.

BOOK III

1674.

hours; and, in reality, it was to these labours, and some of the consequences they had produced, that the colonists were indebted for their preservation from the ruin that would have attended the success of Philip's machinations. Some of the tribes to whom he applied revealed his propositions to the missionaries; and some who had entered into his designs were persuaded by their converted brethren to renounce them. From time to time the court of Plymouth had remonstrated with him on the designs of which they obtained intelligence; and by renewed and more solemn engagements than before, he had endeavoured to disarm their vigilance and remove their suspicions. For two or three years before this period he had pursued his treacherous hostility with so much success that his proceedings appear to have been wholly unsuspected; and he had succeeded in uniting some of the fiercest and most warlike tribes in a confederacy to make war on the colonists to the point of extermination.

A converted Indian, who was labouring as a missionary among the tribes of his countrymen, having at length discovered the plot, revealed it to the governor of Plymouth, and was soon after found dead in a field, with appearances that strongly indicated assassination. Suspicions having fallen on some neighbouring Indians, they were apprehended, and solemnly tried before a jury consisting half of English and half of Indians, who returned a verdict of guilty. At their execution one of them confessed the murder, and declared that they had been instigated by Philip to commit it. This crafty chief, incensed at the execution of his friends, and apprehending the vengeance of the colonists, now threw off the mask, and summoned his confederates to his aid. The states of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut proceeded to arm for their common defence, having first em-

ployed every means to induce Philip to accommodate the quarrel by a friendly treaty. But a friendly issue was not what Philip desired; and being now fully assured that the season of secret conspiracy was over, he rejected all negotiation, and commenced a general war, which was carried on with great vigour and various success. Though Philip's own tribe supplied no more than five hundred warriors, he had so increased his force by alliances that he was able to bring three thousand men into the field. This formidable body, conducted by a chief who believed that the war must terminate in the total ruin of one or other of the conflicting parties, made exertions of which the Indians had been hitherto supposed incapable. Several battles were fought, and all the fury, havoc, and cruelty which distinguish Indian warfare were experienced in their fullest extent. Wherever the enemy marched their route was marked with murder, fire, and desolation. Massachusetts and Plymouth were the states that suffered principally from the contest. There, especially, the Indians were so interpersed among the European colonists that there was scarcely a part of the country in perfect security, or a family which had not to bewail the loss of a relative or friend. It is a truth that has not been sufficiently adverted to, that in all the Indian wars of this period the savages, from the condition of the country, their own superior acquaintance with it, and their peculiar habits of life, enjoyed advantages which might seem well nigh to counterbalance the superiority of European skill. Changing their own settlements with facility, and advancing upon those of the colonists with the dexterous secrecy of beasts of prey; with them there was almost always the spirit and audacity of attack, and with their adversaries the disadvantages of defence and the consternation produced by surprise; nor could the colonists obtain the means of attacking

CHAP. IV.

1675. Philip's war.

BOOK II.

1675. in their turn without following the savages into forests and swamps, where the benefit of their superior discipline was nearly lost, and the peculiarities of European warfare almost impracticable. The savages had long been acquainted with fire-arms, and were remarkably expert in the use of them.

For some time the incursions of the enemy could not be restrained, and every successful enterprise or skirmish that they maintained increased the number of their allies. The savage artifice, however, which Philip adopted in one instance for the purpose of recruiting his forces, recoiled with injury on himself. Having repaired with some of his adherents to the territory of the Mohawks, he caused some of their people to be surprised and assassinated; and then proceeding to the head quarters of the tribe, he declared that he had seen the murder committed by a party of the Plymouth soldiers. The tribe in a flame of passion declared war on the colonists: but their rage soon took another direction; for one of the wounded men having recovered his senses, made a shift to crawl to the habitations of his countrymen, and, though mortally injured, was able to disclose the real author of the murder before he died. The Mohawks instantly declared war on Philip, and themselves the allies of his enemies. Hostilities were protracted till near the close of the following year, when, at length, the steady efforts and invincible bravery of the colonists prevailed; and after a series of defeats, and the loss of all his family and chief counsellors, Philip himself was killed by one of his own tribe whom he had offended. Deprived of its chief abettor, the war was soon terminated by the submission of the enemy. From some of the tribes, however, the colonists refused to accept any submissions, and warned them before their surrender that their treachery had been so gross and unprovoked,

August, 1676.

and their outrages so atrocious and unpardonable, that they must abide the issue of criminal justice. In pursuance of these declarations, some of the chiefs were tried and executed for murder; and a number of their followers were transported to the West Indies, and sold for slaves. Never had the people of New England been engaged in so fierce, so bloody, or so desolating a conflict as this. Many houses and flourishing villages were reduced to ashes; and in the course of the war six hundred persons, composing the flower and strength of several of the districts, were either killed in battle or murdered by the savages. The military efforts of the colonists in these campaigns were thought, and justly perhaps, to evince less of tactical skill than had been displayed in the Pequod war. They were indeed no longer commanded by the experienced officers who had accompanied their ancestors from Europe; and they were opposed to an enemy much more formidable than the Pequods. But the heroic courage and calm contempt of danger that they displayed, was worthy of men whose characters were formed under institutions no less favourable to freedom than virtue, and who fought in defence of every thing that was dear and valuable to mankind. In the commencement of the war, the surprising treachery that the Indians displayed, excited strong apprehensions of the defection of the Indian congregations which the missionaries had collected and partly civilized. But not one of these people proved unfaithful to their benefactors [2].

CHAP. IV. 1676.

The Indian warfare in which New England had been thus involved, was not bounded by the hostilities with Philip and his confederates. An attack was made at the same time on New Hampshire and Maine,

[2] Mather, B. vii. cap. 6. Neal, ii. 333, 334. 376—400. 406. Hutchinson, i. 275—307. See Note XII.

BOOK II.

1676. by the tribes that were situated in the vicinity of these settlements. The Indians complained that they had been defrauded and insulted by some of the English traders in that quarter[3]: but suspicions were strongly entertained that their hostilities were promoted by the French government, now re-established in Acadie. The invasion of these territories was distinguished by the usual ferocity and cruelty of the savages. Many of the inhabitants were massacred, and others carried into captivity. Prompt assistance was rendered by Massachusetts; and after a variety of severe engagements the Indians sustained a considerable defeat. They were still however both able and willing to continue the war; and both their numbers and their animosity were increased by a measure which the colonial government adopted against them. It was proposed to the general court of Massachusetts to invite the Mohawk tribe, who, from time immemorial, had been the enemies of the eastern Indians, to make a descent on their territories at this juncture. The lawfulness of using such auxiliaries was questioned by some; but it was thought a satisfactory answer, that Abraham had confederated with the Amorites for the recovery of his kinsman Lot from the hands of a common enemy; and messengers were accordingly despatched to the Mohawks. Little persuasion was necessary to induce them to comply with the proposal, and a body

[3] One of these complaints was occasioned by the brutal act of some English sailors in overturning an Indian canoe in which they observed an infant child, in order to ascertain the truth of a story they had heard that swimming was as natural to a young Indian as to a young duck. The child died in consequence of the immersion it sustained; and its father, who was highly respected as a necromancer by the Indians, became the inveterate enemy of the English. Belknap, i. 132. An action that excited still greater resentment was committed by Major Waldron of New Hampshire during the war. He had made a treaty of friendship with a body of 400 Indians: but on discovering that some of them had served in Philip's army, he laid hold of these by a stratagem and sent them as prisoners to Boston. Their associates never forgave this treacherous act; and thirteen years after, a party of them having surprised the major in his house by a stratagem still more artful than his own, put him to death by the most horrible inflictions of cruelty. Ibid. 142. 145—148.

of Mohawk warriors quickly marched against their hereditary foes. The expedition, however, so far from producing the slightest benefit, was attended with serious disadvantage to the cause of the colonists. The Indians who were their proper enemies, suffered very little from the Mohawk invasion; and some powerful tribes who had been hitherto at peace with them, exasperated by injuries or affronts which they received from these invaders, now declared war both against them and their English allies. At length, the intelligence of the defeat of Philip, and the probability of stronger forces being thus enabled to march against them, inclined the eastern Indians to hearken to proposals of peace. The war in this quarter was terminated by a treaty highly favourable to the Indians, to whom the settlers became bound to pay a certain quantity of corn yearly as a kind of quit-rent for their lands [4].

CHAP. IV. 1676.

Although the province of New York was now a British settlement, no assistance was obtained from it by the New England states in this long and obstinate contest with the Indians. On the contrary, a hostile demonstration from this quarter had been added to the dangers of the Indian war. Andros, who was then governor of this newly acquired British province, having claimed for the Duke of York a considerable part of the Connecticut territory, proceeded to enforce this pretension by advancing with an armament against the town and fort of Saybrook, which he summoned to surrender. The inhabitants, though at first alarmed to behold the English flag unfurled against them, quickly recovered from their surprise; and hoisting the same flag on

[4] Neal, ii. 400—406. Hutchinson, i. 307, 308. Belknap, i. cap. 5. Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, and Belknap's History of New Hampshire, are the best of the modern historical productions of North America. Trumbull's History of Connecticut would have been esteemed superior to them both, if the author (a clergyman) had not bestowed a most disproportioned attention on the biography of the clergy and the proceedings of ecclesiastical synods.

BOOK VI. 1676.

their walls, prepared to defend themselves against the assailants. Andros, unprepared for such resolute opposition, hesitated to fire upon the English flag; and learning that Captain Bull, an officer of distinguished bravery and determination, had marched with a party of the Connecticut militia for the defence of the place, judged it expedient to abandon the enterprise and return to New York[5].

The king resumes his designs against Massachusetts.

The cessation of the Indian hostilities was not attended with a restoration of the happiness and tranquillity which had preceded them. The king had now matured the scheme of arbitrary government which he steadily pursued during the remainder of his inglorious reign; and the colonists, while yet smarting with the sense of their recent calamities, were summoned to abide a repetition of their ancient contest with the crown, which they had vainly hoped was forgotten or abandoned by the English government. Instead of approbation for the bravery and vigorous reliance on their own resources with which they had conducted their military operations, without involving the mother country in expenses, and repelled hostilities which were partly owing to the disregard which the mother country had shown for their interests in restoring Acadie to the French, they found themselves overwhelmed with reproaches for a seditious obstinacy in refusing to solicit assistance from the king, and a sordid parsimony in the equipment of their levies, which (they were told) had caused the war to be so greatly protracted, and rendered them utterly unfit to be longer intrusted with the government of a country in which their sovereign possessed so deep a stake. Indications of this revival of royal dislike and of the resumption of the king's former designs had appeared before the conclusion of the war with Philip. While hostilities were still

[5] Trumbull, i. 290.

raging in the province, the government of Massachusetts found it necessary to direct a part of its attention to the claims of Mason and Gorges with respect to New Hampshire and Maine. In the summer of 1676 Randolph, a messenger despatched by the king, announced to the general court that a judgment would be pronounced by his majesty in council against the pretensions of the province, unless deputies were sent to plead its cause within six months; and as letters were received at the same time from the friends of the colony in England, giving assurance that this resolution would be adhered to, and that any instance of contumacy on the part of the general court would but accelerate the execution of the more formidable designs that were undoubtedly in agitation at the English court, the royal message received immediate attention, and Stoughton and Bulkeley were despatched as deputies to represent and support the colonial interests [6].

CHAP. IV. 1676.

1677 Controversy respecting the right to Maine and New Hampshire.

The respective titles and claims of the parties having been submitted to the consideration of the two chief justices of England, the legal merits of the question were at length extracted by their experienced eyes from the confused mass of inconsistent grants in which they were involved. It was adjudged that the jurisdiction of New Hampshire was incapable of being validly conveyed by the council of Plymouth, and had therefore reverted to the crown on the dissolution of the council, with reservation, however, of Mason's claims upon the property of the soil—a reservation which for more than a century rendered all the property in New Hampshire insecure, and involved the inhabitants in continual uneasiness, dispute, and litigation. As Gorges, in addition to his original grant from the Plymouth council, had procured a royal patent for the province of Maine, the

[6] Hutchinson, i. 308—312.

BOOK III. 1677.

full right both seignorial and territorial of this province was adjudged to be vested in him. In consequence of this decision, the jurisdiction of Massachusetts over New Hampshire ceased; but it was preserved in the province of Maine by an arrangement with the successful claimant. The king had been for some time in treaty for the purchase of Maine, which he designed to unite with New Hampshire, and to bestow on his favourite son the Duke of Monmouth; but straitened for money, and expecting no competitor in the purchase, he had deferred the completion of the contract. This was not unknown to Massachusetts; and that colony being strongly urged by the inhabitants of Maine to prevent their territories from being dismembered from its jurisdiction, directed its agent to purchase the title of Gorges, which he very willingly sold to them for twelve hundred pounds. This transaction gave great offence to the king, who peremptorily insisted that the authorities of Massachusetts should wave their right and relinquish their contract to him: but they, pleading as a sufficient apology for what they had done, that it had been in compliance with the wishes of the people, retained the purchase and governed the country as a subordinate province. The people of New Hampshire were no less reluctant to be separated from Massachusetts; but they were compelled to submit, and to receive a royal governor[7]. One of the first acts of their legislature was to vote an affectionate address to Massachusetts, acknowledging the former kindness of that colony, and declaring it to have been their general wish to retain their former connexion, had such been the pleasure of their common sovereign.

[7] In the first commission that was issued for the government of this province, the king engaged to continue to the people their ancient privilege of an assembly "unless by inconvenience arising therefrom, he or his heirs should see cause to alter the same." Belknap, i. 172.

The government that had been forced upon them proved utterly incapable of preserving tranquillity or commanding respect. The attempts that were made to enforce Mason's title to the property of the soil, and to render the inhabitants tributary to him for the possessions which they had purchased from others and improved into value by their own labour, excited the most violent ferments, and resulted in a train of vexatious but indecisive legal warfare[8]. Cranfield, the governor, after involving himself in contentions and altercations with the settlers and their legislative body, in which he found it totally impossible to prevail, transmitted an assurance to the British government, "that while the clergy were allowed to preach, no true allegiance could be found in those parts." He wreaked his vengeance upon some nonconformist ministers, to whose preaching he imputed the resolute spirit of the people, and whose general denunciations against vice he construed into personal reflections on himself and his favourites, by arbitrarily commanding them to administer the sacrament to him according to the liturgy of the church of England, and committing them to prison on receiving the refusal which he expected. His misgovernment at length provoked a few rash individuals hastily, and without concert, to revolt from his authority. They were instantly suppressed; and having been arraigned of high treason, were convicted and condemned. But Cranfield, aware of the unpopularity of his government, had employed artifices in the composition of the jury, which excited universal indignation; and afraid to carry his sentence into effect within the

CHAP. IV.

1677.

[8] The people were sometimes provoked to oppose club law to parchment law. An irregular judgment having been pronounced in favour of Mason against some persons who refused to submit to it, Cranfield sent a party of sheriff's officers to serve a writ on them while they were in church. The congregation was incensed at such a proceeding; a young woman knocked down a sheriff's officer with her bible; and the attack becoming general, the whole legal army was routed. It was found necessary to abandon the judgment. Belknap.

BOOK III.

colony, he adopted the strange and unwarrantable proceeding of sending the prisoners to be executed in England. The English government actually sanctioned this irregularity, and were preparing to execute the sentence of a colonial governor, and to exhibit to the English people the tragical issue of a case, with the merits of which they were totally unacquainted, when a pardon was obtained for the unfortunate persons, by the solicitation of Cranfield himself, who, finding it impossible to maintain order in the province, or to withstand the numerous complaints of his injustice and oppression, had solicited his own recal. Shortly after his departure, New Hampshire was again united to the government of Massachusetts, and shared her fortunes till the period of the British revolution [9].

1677.

1678. Progress of the dispute between the king and the colony.

Although the troubles of the *Popish Plot* began now to engage the attention and anxiety of the king, he was no longer to be diverted from the resolution he had adopted of effecting the subjugation of Massachusetts; and though the concern of the Duke of Monmouth with that celebrated imposture and the connexions he had formed with the profligate Shaftesbury and its other promoters, might diminish the king's regret for the privation of the appanage he had meant to invest him with, the presumptuous interference of Massachusetts to defeat this transaction had inflamed his displeasure and fortified his resolution. That additional pretexts might not be wanting to justify his measures, every complaint that could be collected against the colony was promoted and encouraged. The quakers who had refused, during the Indian war, either to perform military service or to pay the fines imposed by law on de-

[9] Hutchinson, i. 312—318. Chalmers, 396, 7. 492. 493—498. Belknap, i. cap. vi. vii. & viii. These events, and the particular history of New Hampshire at this period, are related in considerable detail, with every appearance of accuracy, and with much spirit, good sense, and liberality, by Dr. Belknap.

faulters, complained bitterly of the persecution they had undergone by the enforcement of these fines, as well as of the law which obliged them to contribute to the maintenance of the colonial ministers. When the dangers of the Indian war were at their height, some of the colonists apprehending that these calamities were a judgment of Heaven upon the land for tolerating such heretics as the quakers within its bosom, procured the re-enactment of an old law, prohibiting assemblies for quaker worship; and though it does not appear that this law was enforced, its enactment was justly regarded as persecution, and alienated the regards of many who had hitherto been friends of the colony. The agents who had been deputed to manage the interests of Massachusetts in the disputes respecting New Hampshire and Maine, were detained to answer these complaints which were gravely preferred by the quakers to a government which was itself enforcing with far greater rigour upon them the very policy which it now encouraged them to impute to one of its own provincial dependencies as the most scandalous persecution. Other and more serious complaints contributed to detain the agents and increase their perplexity. Randolph, whom the people of New England described as "going up and down seeking whom he might devour," had faithfully complied with his instructions to collect as much matter of complaint as he could obtain within the colony, and loaded with the hatred of the people, which he cordially reciprocated, he now returned to England and opened his budget of arraignment and vituperation. The most just and most formidable of his charges was that the navigation act was utterly disregarded, and a free trade maintained by the colonists with all parts of the world. This was a charge which the agents could neither deny nor

CHAP. IV.

1678.

BOOK III.

extenuate, and they anxiously pressed their constituents to put an end to the occasion of it.

1678. Any proceedings which the king might adopt, either for the enforcement of the navigation acts, or the punishment of the neglect they had hitherto experienced, were the more likely to coincide with the sentiments of the English people, from the interest of a considerable portion of the mercantile class of society in the monopoly which it was the object of these laws to secure. A petition had been presented to the king and privy council by a number of merchants and manufacturers, complaining of the disregard of the navigation acts in New England, and praying that they might hereafter be vigorously enforced, for the sake of promoting the trade of England, as well as of preserving her dominion over the colonies. That a stronger impression might be made on the public mind, the petitioners were solemnly heard in presence of the council, and suffered to plead at great length in support of their commercial complaints and political reasonings. The general court of Massachusetts, alarmed by these movements, at length intimated, by letter to their agents, that "they apprehended the navigation acts to be an invasion of the rights, liberties, and properties of the subjects of his majesty in the colony, *they not being represented in parliament;* and, according to the usual sayings of the learned in the law, the laws of England being bounded within the four seas, and not reaching to America." They added, however, that, "as his majesty had signified his pleasure that those acts should be observed in the Massachusetts, they had made provision, by a law of the colony, that they should be strictly attended to from time to time, although it greatly discouraged trade, and was a great damage to his majesty's plantation." These expressions, and the recent colonial law to which

1679.

they refer, demonstrate the peculiar notions which were entertained by the people of Massachusetts of the connexion that subsisted between themselves and the parent state. Their pretensions were the same with those which a few years after were advanced by the people of Ireland;—that, although dependent on the crown, and obliged by their patent to conform their jurisprudence, as far as possible, to the law of England, the statutes of the British parliament did not operate in the colony, till re-enacted, or otherwise recognized, by its own native legislature. So strongly did this notion possess the minds of the people of New England, and so obstinately did their interests resist the enforcement of the commercial regulations, that even the submissive province of Rhode Island, although, about this time, in imitation of Massachusetts, it took some steps towards a conformity with these regulations, never expressly recognized them till the year 1700, when its legislature empowered the governor "to put the acts of navigation in execution[1]."

The colonial agents, aware of the strong interests that prevailed among their countrymen still to overstep the boundaries of their regulated trade, furnished them with correct information of the threatening aspect of their affairs in England, and assured them that only a thorough compliance with the navigation acts could shelter them from the designs that were entertained by the crown. These honest representations produced the too frequent effect of unwelcome truths: they diminished the popularity of the agents, and excited suspicions in Boston that they had not advocated the interests of the colony

[1] Neal, ii. 365, 6. Hutchinson, i. 319, 320. 322, 3. Chalmers, 277. 400. From Warden's population tables, it appears that Connecticut at this period (1679) contained twelve thousand five hundred inhabitants, having sustained a diminution of two thousand five hundred since the year 1670 (Warden, ii. 9.) —a fact unexplained by the history of this state, which had suffered comparatively little by the late Indian war.

BOOK II.

with sufficient zeal. The people were always too apt to suspect that their deputies in England were overawed by the state, and infected with the subservience that prevailed at the royal court; and they neglected to make due allowance for the different aspect which a dispute with England presented to men who beheld face to face her vast establishments and superior power, and to those who speculated on the probability of such dispute at the opposite extremity of the Atlantic ocean. The agents at length obtained leave to return; and though some impatience and ill humour had been excited by their fidelity in the discharge of an unwelcome office, the deliberate sentiments of their countrymen were so little perverted, that when the king again intimated his desire of the re-appointment of agents in England, they twice again elected the same persons to resume their former duty, which unfortunately, however, these persons could never again be persuaded to undertake. They carried with them a letter containing the requisitions of the king, of which the most considerable were, that the oath of allegiance should be rendered more explicit, and should be administered to every person holding an office of trust; that all civil and military commissions should be issued in the king's name; and all laws repugnant to the English commercial statutes abolished. The general court, eagerly indulging the hope that, by a compliance with these moderate demands, they could appease their sovereign and avert his displeasure, proceeded instantly to enact laws in conformity with his requisitions. They trusted that he had now abandoned the designs which they had been taught to apprehend; and which, in reality, were merely suspended by the influence of the proceedings connected with the popish plot, and the famous bill for the exclusion of the Duke of York. Although the requi-

1679.

May.

sitions which the king had transmitted by the hands of Stroughton and Bulkeley were obeyed, he continued to intimate, from time to time, his desire that new agents might be appointed to represent the colony in London; but partly from the apprehensive jealousy with which the colonists regarded such a measure, and partly from the reluctance that prevailed among their leading men to undertake so arduous and perplexing an employment, the king's desires on this point were not complied with. The short interval of independence which the colonists were yet permitted to enjoy was very remote from a state of tranquillity. Randolph, who had commended himself to the king and his ministers by the diligence and activity with which he had co-operated with their views, was appointed collector of the customs at Boston, and a custom-house establishment, which some years before had been erected without opposition in Virginia, and Maryland, was now extended to New England[2]. But it was in Massachusetts that this measure was intended to produce the effects which it was easily foreseen would result from its own nature, as well as from the temper and the unpopularity of the person who was appointed to conduct it. The navigation acts were evaded in Rhode Island, and openly contemned and disregarded in Connecticut; yet these states were permitted to practise such irregularity without molestation. It seems to have been less the enforcement of the acts themselves that the king desired, than the advantage which would accrue from the attempt to enforce them after such long neglect in the obnoxious province of Massachusetts. To this province he confined his attention; and

[2] As a measure, partly of terror, and partly of punishment, it was determined by the English court, about this time, "that no Mediterranean passes shall be granted to New England to protect its vessels against the Turks, till it is seen what dependence it will acknowledge on his majesty, or whether his custom-house officers are received as in other colonies." Chalmers, 402.

BOOK II.

justly considered that the issue of his contest with it, would necessarily involve the fate of all the other
1679. settlements of New England. Randolph proceeded to exercise his office with the most offensive rigour, and very soon complained that the stubbornness of the people defeated all his activity, and presented insuperable obstacles to the execution of the laws. Almost every suit that he instituted for the recovery of penalties or forfeitures was decided against him. He proceeded to England in order to lay his complaints before his employers, and returned invested with more extensive powers, in the exercise of which
1680. he was not more successful. He reproached the colonial authorities with injustice and partiality; and they denied the charge, and accused him of unnecessary and vexatious litigation. The requisitions and remonstrances which the king continued to make, from time to time, were answered by professions of loyalty, and by partial compliances with what was thus suggested; but the main subject of contest still continued to subsist, and the colony, though repeatedly desired, still delayed, to send deputies to England. The general court was at this time divided between two parties, who cordially agreed in their estimate of the value of their chartered privileges, but differed in opinion as to the extent to which it was advisable to contend for them. Bradstreet, the governor, at the head of the moderate party, promoted every compliance with the will of the parent state short of a total surrender of their civil and ecclesiastical constitution. Danforth, the deputy-governor, at the head of another party, impeded the appointment of deputies, and opposed all submission to the acts of trade; maintaining that the colony should adhere to the strict construction of its charter, resist every abridgment of it as a dangerous precedent, no less than an injurious aggres-

State of parties in Massachusetts.

sion, and standing on their right, commit the event to Providence. These parties conducted their debates with warmth, but without acrimony; and as the sentiments of one or other respectively prevailed, a greater or lesser degree of compliance with the demands of the king was infused into the undecided policy of the general court[3]. 1630.

The various misfortunes in which the colony had for a series of years been involved, did not fail to produce a deep and solemn impression on the minds of men habituated to regard all the events of life in a religious aspect; and contributed to revive the piety for which New England had been at first so highly distinguished, among the posterity of the original settlers. A short time before the commencement of their troubles, a natural phenomenon that excited much awe and attention at the time, and was long recollected with solemn remembrance, was visible for several nights successively in the heavens. It was a bright meteor in the form of a spear, of which the point was directed towards the setting sun, and which, with slow majestic motion, descended through the upper regions of the air, and gradually disappeared beneath the horizon. The inhabitants were deeply struck with this splendid personification of agency that seemed to unite the visible and invisible world in its range; and the colonial magistrates, without expressly alluding to it, yielded to its influence on their own minds, and endeavoured to improve its effects on the minds of others, by promoting a general reformation of manners. Circular letters were transmitted to all the clergy, urging them to greater diligence in exemplifying and inculcating the precepts

[3] Hutchinson, i. 319. 321. 326, 327. 330, 331. 334. Chalmers, 297. 409. From a report presented this year (1630) to the lords of trade, it appears that Connecticut, then in the forty-fourth year of its settlement, contained twenty-one churches, each of which had its minister; a militia of 2500 men; a very few indented servants, and thirty slaves. Holmes, i. 377.

BOOK II. 1689.

of religion, especially on the young, and instructing their parishioners from house to house. The dupes of science falsely so called may deride these impressions, and trace to ignorant wonder the piety which they produced; but enlightened philosophy will confess the worth and dignity of that principle which recognizes in every display of the great phenomena of nature, additional calls to serve and glorify its Almighty Creator, and which elevates and refines human faculties by placing every object that forcibly strikes them in a noble and graceful light derived from connexion with the interests of morality and the honour of God. The events of the Indian war, the losses sustained from a train of unfavourable weather that ensued, and, latterly, the disquiet occasioned by the contentions with the English government, served, in like manner, to humble the people beneath the Almighty Power which controls the passions of men as well as the elements of nature, and were equally productive of increased diligence in the observances of piety and the reformation of manners. Deeply lamenting the imperfections and deficiencies of themselves and others, many of the ministers, magistrates, and leading men of the province earnestly besought their countrymen to consider if the interruption of Divine favour did not betoken neglect of the Divine will, and by precept and example laboured to eradicate every evil habit or licentious practice that a state of war and an influx of commercial wealth were supposed to have produced. Men were strongly exhorted to carry a continual respect to the Divine will into the minutest ramifications of their affairs, and to ennoble whatever they did by doing it to the Lord. The general court published a catalogue of the epidemical vices of the times, in which we find enumerated, neglect of the education of children, pride displayed in the manner

State of religion and morals.

of cutting and curling hair, excess of finery and immodesty of apparel, negligent carriage at church, failure in due respect to parents, a sordid eagerness of shopkeepers to obtain high prices, profane swearing, idleness, and frequenting of taverns. Grand juries were directed to make presentment of offenders in these respects: but either the happier influence of example and remonstrance was sufficient to control the obnoxious practices, or they never attained such height and prevalence as to justify the infliction of legal severities [4]. In many instances the scrupulous piety of the colonial authorities has reprobated existing vices, and the extent to which they prevailed, in language which, when compared with the common tone of the world, is apt to beget misapprehension; and, hence, a writer no less eminent than Chalmers has fallen into the gross mistake of deriving a charge of unusual immorality against the inhabitants of Massachusetts from the very circumstances that prove the strength of their piety, the purity of their moral habits, and the still superior purity of their moral aspirations. The strong sense that religion inspires of the vicious propensities inherent in human nature, causes the expression of the moral sentiments of religious men to appear to the world as the ravings of hypocritical cant or fanatical delusion [5].

CHAP. IV. 1680.

The king had never abandoned his design of effecting a complete alteration of the constitution of Massachusetts; but his moderation had been enforced by the more personal and pressing concern of resisting the attempts of Shaftesbury to re-enact the deep and

[4] Neal, ii. 350—352. 409. Hutchinson, i. 320, 321. 324.

[5] After this manner the New England ministers were accustomed to address their hearers. "It concerneth New England always to remember that they are originally a plantation religious, not a plantation of trade. Let merchants, and such as are increasing cent per cent, remember this, that worldly gain was not the end and design of the people of New England, but religion. And if any man among us make religion as twelve, and the world as thirteen, such an one hath not the spirit of a true New Englandman." Higginson's Election Sermon, 1663, *apud* Belknap, i. 69.

BOOK II. daring policy of the Duke of Guise, and control his sovereign by the formation and supremacy of a pro-
1680. testant league in England. While Shaftesbury and his party were able to retain their influence on the public mind by the artifice of the popish plot, and to attack the monarchy by the device of the exclusion bill, it might well be deemed unsafe to signalize the royal administration by any public act of extraordinary tyranny in a province so eminent for zeal in the
1681. protestant cause as Massachusetts. But Charles had now obtained a complete victory over his domestic adversaries; and, among other excesses of retaliatory violence and arbitrary power by which he proceeded to improve his success, he instituted writs of *quo warranto* against the principal corporations in England, and easily obtained judgments from the courts of law that declared all their liberties and franchises forfeited to the crown. About two years before this period, he had deliberated on the possibility of superseding entirely the government of Massachusetts without the observance of any legal solemnity; but, on consulting Jones and Winnington, the attorney and solicitor general, he had learned that his object could not be securely or effectually attained except by the instrumentality of a writ of *quo warranto*, which at that time it was not deemed expedient to employ. But now every impediment was removed; and the colonists received the most positive intelligence from their friends in England that the abrogation of their charter was finally resolved on, and was to be instantly accomplished. Randolph, who spent much of his time in making voyages between England and America, and had lately affixed a protest on the exchange of Boston against the acts of its government, now brought from London a letter from the king, dated the 26th of October, 1681, recapitulating all the complaints against the colony, and commanding that deputies should

instantly be sent to him, not only to answer these complaints, but "with powers to submit to such regulations of government as his majesty should think fit;" which if they should fail to do, it was intimated that a writ of *quo warranto* would be directed against them. A new matter of charge, suggested by the inquisitive hostility of Randolph, was at the same time preferred against them,—that they coined money within the province in contempt of the king's prerogative. The general court, in answer to this sudden arraignment of a practice which had been permitted so long to prevail without question, explained how and when it had originated, and appealed to these circumstances as decisively proving that no contempt had been designed; but, withal, declared that if it were regarded as a trespass on his majesty's authority, they humbly entreated pardon for the ignorance under which it had been committed. Among the other complaints that were urged by the king, were the presumptuous purchase of the province of Maine, which the colonists were again commanded to surrender, and the disallowance of any other worship than that of the established churches within the colony. To the first of these they answered by repeating their former apology, and still declining what was required of them; and to the second, that liberty of worship was now granted to all denominations of Christians in Massachusetts. The royal letter contained many other charges; but they were all answered by solemn protestations that either the commands they imported had been already fulfilled, or the disobedience they alleged had not been committed. CHAP. IV. 1681.

An assembly of the general court having been held for the purpose of electing deputies to proceed to England, and Stoughton again declining to accept this office, it was conferred on Dudley and Richards, two of the wealthiest and most respectable citizens of Feb. 1682.

BOOK II. 1682. the province. But as the powers which the royal letter required that they should be invested with, of submitting to whatever regulations of government the king should think fit, were nothing else than powers to surrender all the rights of the colony, the court was careful to grant no such authority, and, on the contrary, plainly expressed in their instructions that the deputies were not to do or consent to any thing that should infringe the liberties granted by the charter, or alter the existing form of government. The deputies set sail for England, whither they were soon followed by Randolph, to confront, oppose, and counteract them. A public fast was appointed to be observed throughout the colony, to pray for the preservation of their charter and the success of the deputation. Means less pure, though I think by no means unjustifiable, were adopted, or at least sanctioned, by the assent of the court of assistants, for the promotion of the colonial interests in England. Cranfield, who was still the royal governor of New Hampshire, being on a visit at Boston, suggested to these authorities that their agents should be directed to wait on Lord Hyde, and tender the sum of two thousand guineas for the private service of the king, which he assured them, from the notorious poverty and venality of the court[6], would infallibly procure a stay of all hostile proceedings. They fell headlong into the snare; and having written letters to this effect to the deputies, Cranfield despatched letters at the same time to the king, which he assured them contained the strongest recommendations of their interests to royal favour. But though these men were willing, in a cause where no interests but their

[6] Every thing was venal that Charles the Second could obtain a price for. He sold his alliance to the king of France, and the offices of government to his own ministers. From the Memoirs of Sir William Temple, it appears that this eminent person was obliged, in 1674, to decline the office of secretary of state from inability to advance £6000, which was the price of it. Temple's Works (Dean Swift's edition, folio), i. 379.

own were involved, to sacrifice their money for their liberty, and to buy their country out of the hands of a sordid and dissolute tyrant, it was not the will of Providence that the liberties of Massachusetts should be bought with gold, or that the prayers which had been associated with such means should prevail. Letters soon arrived from the deputies, informing that Cranfield had written a ludicrous account of the whole proceeding to the king, and vaunted his dexterity in outwitting the people of Boston, whom he described as a crew of rascals and rebels, and that the publication of the story had exposed them to the derision of the whole court [7].

CHAP. IV. 1682.

The deputies found the king intoxicated with prosperous tyranny, and incensed to the highest degree against a province that had so long presumed to withstand his will. Their credentials, which they were desired to exhibit to Sir Lionel Jenkins, the secretary of state, were at once declared to be insufficient; and they were informed, that unless others, satisfactory in every respect, were immediately obtained, it was his majesty's pleasure that a *quo warranto* against their charter should issue without delay. The deputies communicated this peremptory injunction to their constituents; assuring them, at the same time, that the case of the colony was desperate, and leaving them to determine whether it was most advisable to submit themselves unreservedly to his majesty's pleasure, or to abide the issue of a process which would certainly be fatal. This important question, the determination of which was to be the

Surrender of the charter of Massachusetts demanded by the king.

7 Hutchinson, i. 333—335. 337. Chalmers, 406. 439. 443. 456. Notwithstanding the unpromising aspect of affairs in New England at this period, her population received frequent additions from the emigration of English nonconformists. Among a considerable body of those who about the year 1682 sought an asylum in Massachusetts was Josias Franklin, the father of that distinguished philosopher and politician who in the following century contributed so signally to effect the independence of the American states. See Franklin's Memoirs of his own Life.

BOOK II. last exercise of their beloved liberty, was solemnly discussed both in the general court and, as was meet, by the inhabitants of the province at large; and the general sentiment was declared to be, "that it was better to die by other hands than their own." An earnest address to the king was framed by the general court; a corresponding one was signed by the inhabitants; and the agents were directed to present them or not, as they should think proper. They were authorized to deliver up the titles of the province of Maine, if by so doing they could preserve the charter; but otherwise not; and they were finally informed of the irrevocable determination of their constituents to adhere to the charter, and never to show themselves unworthy of liberty by voluntarily disowning it. The communication of this magnanimous answer put an end to the functions of the deputies; and a writ of *quo warranto* having been issued forthwith against the colony, they desired leave to retire from the spectacle of such proceedings, and were permitted to return to Boston. They were instantly followed by Randolph, who had presented to the committee of plantations articles of high crimes and misdemeanours against the colony, and was now selected to carry the fatal writ across the Atlantic. The message was perfectly suitable to the hand that conveyed it; and Randolph performed his office with a triumphant eagerness that added insult to injury, and increased the detestation with which he was universally regarded. The king at the same time made a last attempt to induce the colonists to spare him the tedious formalities of legal process. He transmitted a declaration, that if before judgment they would make a full submission and entire resignation to his pleasure, he would consider their intefest as well as his own service in composing the new charter, and make no farther departure from the original constitution than

1683. refused by the colonists.

Writ of quo warranto issued against the colony.

October.

should be necessary for the support of his government. In order to enforce this suggestion, the colonists were apprised, that all the corporations in England except the city of London, had surrendered their privileges to the king; and copies of the proceedings against the charter of London were dispersed through the province, that all might know that a contest with his authority was utterly hopeless. But the people of Massachusetts were not to be moved from their purpose by the threats of despotic power or the example of general servility. They had acted well, and had now to suffer well; and disdainfully refused to diminish the infamy of their oppressor by sharing it with him. The majority of the court of assistants, overwhelmed by their calamities, voted an address of submission to the king; but the house of delegates, animated with the general feeling of the people, and supported by the approbation of the clergy, rejected the address, and adhered to their former resolutions. The process of *quo warranto* was in consequence urged forward with all the vigour that the formalities of law would admit. A requisition to the colony to make appearance was promptly complied with; but it was found that the legal period of appearance had elapsed before the requisition was transmitted. At length, in Trinity term of the following year, judgment was pronounced against the governor and company of Massachusetts, "That their letters patent and the enrolment thereof be cancelled;" and in the year after, an official copy of this judgment was received by the secretary of the general court[8].

CHAP. IV.

1683.

Firmness of the people.

1684.

Their charter adjudged to be forfeited.

2 July, 1685.

Thus the liberties of Massachusetts were overthrown by the descendant of the princes whose oppressions had contributed to lay their foundations; after being defended by the children of the original settlers with the same resolute unbending virtue that

[8] Hutchinson, i. 335. 337—340. Chalmers, 413—415.

BOOK II.

1685.

their fathers had exerted in establishing them. The venerable Bradstreet, who had accompanied the first emigrants to Massachusetts in 1630, was still alive, and was governor of the colony at the period of the subversion of those institutions which he had contributed originally to plant in the desert, and had so long continued to adorn and enjoy. Perhaps he now discerned the vanity of those sentiments that had prompted so many of the coevals whom he had survived, to lament their deaths as premature. But the aged eyes that beheld this eclipse of New England's prosperity, were not yet to close till they had seen the return of better days.

That the proceedings of the king were in the highest degree unjust and tyrannical, appears manifest beyond all decent denial; and that the legal adjudication by which he masked his tyranny was never annulled by the English parliament, is a circumstance very little creditable to English justice. The House of Commons, indeed, shortly after the Revolution, inflamed with indignation at the first recital of the proceedings we have seen, passed a resolution declaring "that those *quo warrantos* against the charters of New England were illegal and void;" but they were afterwards prevailed with to depart from this resolution by the arguments of Treby, Somers, and Holt [9], whose eminent faculties and constitutional principles could not exempt them from the influence of a superstitious prejudice, generated by their professional habits, in favour of the sacredness of legal formalities.

[9] Chalmers, 415.

CHAPTER V.

Designs—and Death of Charles the Second.—Government of Massachusetts under a temporary Commission from James the Second.—Andros appointed Governor of New England.—Submission of Rhode Island.—Resolute Effort to preserve the Charter of Connecticut.—Oppressive Government of Andros.—Colonial Policy of the King.—Sir William Phipps.—Indian Hostilities renewed by the Intrigues of the French.—Insurrection at Boston.—Andros deposed—and the ancient Government restored.—Connecticut and Rhode Island resume their Charters.—William and Mary proclaimed.—War with the French and Indians.—Sir William Phipps conquers Acadie.—Ineffectual Expedition against Quebec.—Impeachment of Andros by the Colony, discouraged by the English Ministers—and dismissed.—The King refuses to restore the ancient Constitution of Massachusetts.—Tenor of the new Charter.—Sir William Phipps Governor.—The New England Witchcraft.—Death of Phipps.—War with the French and Indians.—Loss of Acadie.—Peace of Ryswick.—Moral and political State of New England.

CHAP. V.

1685.

So eager was Charles to complete the execution of his long cherished designs on Massachusetts, that in November 1684, immediately after the judgment was pronounced, he began to make arrangements for the new government of the colony. Though not even a complaint had been urged against New Plymouth, he scrupled not to involve that settlement in the same fate; and as if he intended to consummate his tyranny by a measure that should teach the inhabitants of New England how dreadful the vengeance of a king could be, he selected for the execution of his designs an individual, than whom it would not be easy in the whole records of human cruelty and wickedness to point out a man who has excited to a greater degree the abhorrence and indignation of his fellow-creatures. The notorious *Colonel Kirke*, whose brutal and sanguinary excesses

BOOK II.

1685. Designs—

have secured him an immortality of infamy in the history of England, was appointed governor of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and New Plymouth: and it was determined that no assembly should be permitted to exist, but that the legislative and executive powers should be combined in a governor and council appointed during the royal pleasure. This arbitrary policy was approved by all the ministers of Charles, except the Marquis of Halifax, who espoused the cause of the colonists with a generous zeal, and warmly but vainly urged that they were entitled to enjoy the same laws and institutions that were established in England [1]. Though Kirke had not yet committed the enormities by which he was destined to illustrate his name in the west of England, he had already given such indications of his disposition in the government of Tangier, that the tidings of his appointment filled the inhabitants of the colony with horror and dismay. But before Kirke's commission and instructions could be finally settled, the career of Charles himself was interrupted by death; and Kirke was reserved to contribute by his atrocities in England to bring hatred and exile on Charles's successor. This successor, James the Second, from whose stern inflexible temper and high toned opinions respecting government, the most gloomy presages of tyranny had been drawn, was proclaimed in Boston with melancholy pomp [2].

and death of Charles the Second.

These presages were verified by the administration of the new monarch. Soon after his accession to the throne, a commission was issued for the temporary government of Massachusetts, New Hampshire,

[1] The French court and the Duke of York remonstrated with Charles on the impolicy of retaining in office a man who had professed such sentiments. Barillon's Correspondence, in the Appendix to Fox's History of James the Second. "Even at this early period," says Mr. Fox, "a question relative to North American liberty, and even to North American taxation, was considered as the test of principles friendly or adverse to arbitrary power at home."

[2] Hutchinson, i. 340—342. Chalmers, 416, 417.

Maine, and New Plymouth by a president and council selected from among the inhabitants of Massachusetts, whose powers were entirely executive and judicial, and were to endure till the arrival of a permanent governor. They were directed to allow liberty of conscience to all, but to bestow peculiar encouragement on the church of England; to determine all suits originating within the colony, but to admit appeals from their sentences to the king in council; and to defray the expenses of their government by levying the taxes formerly imposed. This commission was laid before the general court at Boston, not as being any longer considered a body invested with political authority, but as being composed of individuals of the highest respectability and influence in the province. In answer to the communication they had thus received, this assembly agreed unanimously to an address, in which they declared that the inhabitants of Massachusetts were deprived of the rights of freemen by the new system, and that it deeply concerned both those who introduced and those who were subjected to a system of this nature, to consider how far it was safe to pursue it. They added that if the newly appointed officers meant to assume the government of the people, though they would never give assent to such proceedings, they would nevertheless demean themselves as loyal subjects, and humbly make their addresses to God, and in due time to their prince for relief. The president named in the commission was Mr. Dudley, who had lately been one of the deputies of the province to England, and whose conduct had justified in some degree the jealousy with which the colonists ever regarded the men whom they were compelled to intrust with the performance of that arduous duty. His patriotic virtue, without being utterly dissolved, was relaxed by the beams of royal

CHAP. V.

1685. Government of Massachusetts under a temporary commission from James the Second.

May, 1686.

BOOK II.

1686.

influence. Despairing of being able to serve his country, he applied himself with more success to cultivate his own interest at the English court: and in pursuing this crooked policy, he would seem to have been animated by the hope that the interest of his fellow-citizens might be more effectually promoted by his own advancement to office among them, than by the exclusion which he would incur, in common with them, by a stricter adherence to the line of integrity. Though he accepted the commission, and persuaded those who were associated with him to imitate his example, he continued to show himself friendly to the rights of the people, and to those institutions which they so highly regarded. Not only was any immediate alteration in the internal arrangements of the colony avoided, but the commissioners, in deference to the public feeling, transmitted a memorial to the English ministers stating that a well regulated assembly of the representatives of the people was extremely necessary, and ought in their opinion to be established without delay. This moderate conduct, however, gave little satisfaction to any of the parties whom they desired to please. The people were indignant to behold a system which was erected on the ruins of their liberty promoted by their own fellow-citizens, and above all by the man whom they had lately appointed to resist its introduction among them; and nothing but the apprehensions of seeing him replaced by Kirke, whose massacres in England excited the direst presage of the fate of America, prevented the strongest expressions of their displeasure. The conduct of the commissioners was no less unsatisfactory both to the abettors of arbitrary government in England, and to the creatures of Randolph within the province, who were anxious to pay court to the king by prostrating beneath his power every obstacle to the execution of his will. Com-

plaints were soon transmitted by these persons to the English ministers, charging the commissioners with conniving at former practices in opposition to the laws of trade, and countenancing ancient principles in religion and government [3]. CHAP. V. 1686.

In addition to these causes of dissatisfaction with the conduct of the commissioners, the king was now compelled to resume the prosecution of his plans by the imperfection of the temporary arrangement he had made. It was found that the acts of taxation were about to expire, and the commissioners being totally devoid of legislative authority, had no power to renew them. They had employed this consideration to enforce their suggestion of a representative assembly: but it determined the king to enlarge the arbitrary authority of his colonial officers, and at the same time to establish a permanent administration for New England. He had consulted the crown lawyers respecting the extent of his powers; and they had given as their official opinion "that notwithstanding the forfeiture of the charter of Massachusetts, its inhabitants continued English subjects, invested with English liberties;" a truth which, though it required little legal acuteness to discover, seems to imply more honesty than we might be prepared to expect from the persons selected by this monarch from a bar which, in that age, could supply such instruments as Jeffries and Scroggs. We must recollect, however, that lawyers, though professionally partial to the authority that actuates the system they administer, cherish also in their strong predilection for those forms and precedents that constitute their own influence and the peculiar glory of their science, a principle that frequently protects liberty and befriends substantial justice [4]. But James was too

[3] Neal, ii. 420. Hutchinson, i. 341, 342. 350—352. Chalmers, 419.

[4] Many remarkable instances illustrative of this remark will occur to all who

BOOK II. 1686.

much enamoured of arbitrary power, to be deterred from the indulgence of it by any obstacle inferior to invincible necessity: and accordingly, without paying the slightest regard to an opinion supported only by the pens of lawyers, he determined to establish a complete tyranny in New England, by combining the whole legislative and executive authority of government in the persons of a governor and council to be named by himself. Kirke had been found too useful as an instrument of terror in England, to be spared to America. But Sir Edmund Andros, who had signalized his devotion to arbitrary power in the government of New York, was now appointed captain-general and vice-admiral of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, New Plymouth, and certain dependent territories, during the pleasure of the king. He was empowered, with consent of a council to be appointed by the crown, to make ordinances for the colonies, not inconsistent with the laws of England, and which were to be submitted to the king for his approbation or dissent, and to impose taxes for the support of government. He was directed to govern the people, according to the tenor of his commission, of a separate letter of instructions with which he was at the same time furnished, and of the laws which were then in force or might be afterwards enacted. The governor and council were also constituted a court of record; and from their decisions an appeal lay to the king in council. The greater part of the instructions that were given to Andros are of a nature that would do honour to the patriotism of the

Andros appointed governor of New England.

are acquainted with the history of English jurisprudence: and it is this which gives to the English state trials, even in the worst of times, an interest which the state prosecutions of no other country possess. Not the least signal instance of this principle was displayed by Chief Justice Jeffries himself, who, after he had trampled on the plainest principles of justice and equity in order to procure the conviction of a dissenting minister, suffered himself to be deterred from passing sentence in conformity with the verdict, by a technical objection which is almost unintelligible. Case of Rosewell. Howel's State Trials, vol. x. p. 147.

king; if the praise of that virtue were due to a barren desire to promote the welfare of the people, accompanied with the most effectual exertions to strip them of every security by which their welfare might be guarded. Andros was instructed to promote no persons to offices of trust but those of the best estates and characters, and to displace none without sufficient cause; to continue the former laws of the country, so far as they were not inconsistent with his commission or instructions; to dispose of the crown lands at moderate quit-rents; "to take away or to harm no man's life, member, freehold, or goods, but by established laws of the country, not repugnant to those of the realm;" to discipline and arm the inhabitants for the defence of the country, but not to impede their necessary affairs; to encourage freedom of commerce by restraining ingrossers; to hinder the excessive severity of masters to their servants, and to punish with death the slayers of Indians or negroes; *to allow no printing press to exist*; and to give universal toleration in religion, but special encouragement to the church of England. Except the restraint of printing, there is none of these instructions that breathes a spirit of despotism: and yet the whole system was silently pervaded by that spirit; for as there were no securities provided for the enforcement of the king's benevolent directions, so there were no checks established to restrain the abuse of the powers with which the governor was intrusted. The king was willing that his subjects should be happy, but not that they should be free or happy independently of himself: and this association of a desire to promote human welfare, with an enmity to the means most likely to secure it, suggests the explanation, perhaps the apology, of an error to which kings are inveterately liable. Trained in habits of indulgence of

CHAP. V. 1686.

BOOK II. 1686. their will; and in sentiments of respect for its force and efficacy, they come to consider it as what not only ought to be, but must be irresistible; and feel no less secure of ability to make men happy without their own concurrence, than of a right to balk the natural desire of mankind to commit their happiness to the keeping of their own courage and wisdom. The possession of absolute power renders self-denial the highest effort of virtue: and the absolute monarch who should demonstrate a just regard to the rights of his fellow-creatures, would deserve to be honoured as one of the most magnanimous of human beings. Furnished with the instructions which we have seen for the mitigation of his arbitrary power, and attended with a few companies of soldiers for its enforcement, Andros arrived in Boston; and presenting himself as the substitute for the dreaded and detested Kirke, and commencing his administration with many gracious expressions of good will, he was at first received more favourably than might have been expected. But his popularity was short lived. Instead of conforming to the instructions, he copied and even exceeded the arbitrary rule of his master in England, and committed the most tyrannical violence and oppressive exactions[5].

December.

It was the purpose of James to consolidate the strength of all the colonies in one united government; and Rhode Island and Connecticut were now to experience that their destiny was involved in the fate of Massachusetts. The inhabitants of Rhode Island, on learning the accession of the king, immediately transmitted an address congratulatory of that event, acknowledging themselves his loyal sub-

[5] Hutchinson, i. 353—355. Chalmers, 419—421. During the administration of Andros, a new great seal was appointed for New England, with the motto *Nunquam libertas gratior extat.* Chalmers, 463.

jects, and begging his protection of their chartered rights. Yet the humility of their supplications could not protect them from the effects of the plans he had resolved to adopt in the government of New England. Articles of high misdemeanour were exhibited against them before the lords of the committee of colonies, charging them with breaches of their charter, and with opposition to the acts of navigation; and before the close of the year 1685, they received notice of the commencement of a process of *quo warranto* against their patent. Without hesitation they resolved that they would not stand suit with the king, and passed an act, in full assembly, formally surrendering the charter and all the powers it contained. By a fresh address they "humbly prostrated themselves, their privileges, their all, at the gracious feet of his majesty, with an entire resolution to serve him with faithful hearts." These servile expressions dishonoured, but did not avail them; and the king, judging all forms of law superfluous, proceeded, without ceremony, to impose the subjugation which the people sought to evade by deserving it. His eagerness, however, to accomplish his object with rapidity, though it probably inflicted a salutary disappointment on the people at the time, proved ultimately highly beneficial to their political interests, by preserving their charter from a legal dissolution: and we shall find that this benefit, which, with equal improvidence, was extended to the people of Connecticut, was sensibly experienced at the era of the British revolution. In consequence of the last address that had been transmitted by Rhode Island, Andros had been charged to extend his government to this province also: and in the same month that witnessed his arrival at Boston, he proceeded to Rhode Island, where he dissolved the government, broke its seal, and, admitting five of the inhabitants into his legislative

CHAP. V. 1686.

Submission of Rhode Island.

BOOK II. council, assumed the administration of all the functions of government[6].

1686. Connecticut had also transmitted an address to the king on his accession, and vainly solicited the preservation of her privileges. At the same time when the articles of misdemeanour were exhibited against Rhode Island, a similar proceeding was adopted against the governor and company of Connecticut, who were charged with making laws contrary to those of England; of extorting unreasonable fines; of enforcing an oath of fidelity to their own corporation, in opposition to the oath of allegiance; of intolerance in religion; and of denial of justice. These charges, which were supposed to infer a forfeiture of the charter, were remitted to Sawyer, the attorney-general, with directions to issue a writ of *quo warranto* against the colony. The writ was issued, and Randolph, the general enemy and accuser of the free, offered his services to carry it across the Atlantic. The governor and the assembly of Connecticut had for some time beheld the storm approaching, and knowing that courage alone was vain, and resistance impracticable, they endeavoured, with considerable address, to elude what they were unable to repel. After delaying as long as possible to make any signification of their intentions, the arrival of Sir Edmund Andros at Boston, and his proceedings in Rhode Island, seem to have convinced them that the measures of the king were to be vigorously pursued, and that they could not hope to be allowed to deliberate any longer. They wrote, accordingly, to the secretary of state, expressing their strong desire to be permitted to retain their present constitution; but requesting, if it were the royal purpose to dispose otherwise of them, that they might be annexed to Massachusetts, and share the fortunes of a people who

January, 1687.

[6] Hutchinson, i. 339. Chalmers, 278, 9.

were their former correspondents and confederates, and whose principles and manners they understood and approved. This was construed by the British government into a surrender of the colonial privileges, and Andros was commanded to annex this province also to his jurisdiction. Randolph, who seems to have been qualified not less by genius than inclination to promote the execution of tyrannical designs, advised the English ministers to prosecute the *quo warranto* to a judicial issue; assuring them that the government of Connecticut would never consent to do, nor acknowledge that they had done, what was equivalent to an express surrender of the rights of the people. It was matter of regret to the ministers and crown lawyers of a later age, that this politic suggestion was not adopted. But the king was too eager to snatch the boon that seemed within his reach, to wait the tedious formalities of the law; and no further proceedings ensued on the *quo warranto*. In conformity with his orders, Andros marched at the head of a body of troops to Hartford, the seat of the provincial government, where he demanded that the charter should be delivered into his hands. The people had been extremely desirous to preserve at least the document of rights, which the return of better times might enable them to assert with effect. The charter was laid on the table of the assembly, and the leading persons of the colony addressed Andros at considerable length, relating the exertions that had been made, and the hardships that had been incurred, in order to found the institutions which he was come to destroy: entreating him yet to spare them, or at least to leave the people in possession of the patent, as a testimonial of the favour and happiness they had formerly enjoyed. The debate was earnest, but orderly, and protracted to a late hour in the evening. As the day declined,

CHAP. IV.

1687.

October.

Resolute effort to preserve the charter of Connecticut.

BOOK II. 1687

lights were introduced into the hall, and it was gradually surrounded by a considerable body of the bravest and most determined men in the province, prepared to defend their representatives against the violence of Andros and his armed followers. At length, finding that their arguments were ineffectual, a measure that seems to have been previously concerted by the inhabitants, was coolly, resolutely, and successfully adopted. The lights were extinguished, as if by accident; and Captain Wadsworth laying hold of the charter, disappeared with it before they could be rekindled. He conveyed it securely through the crowd, who opened to let him pass, and closed their ranks as he proceeded, and deposited it in the hollow of a venerable elm tree, which retained the precious deposit till the era of the English revolution, and was long regarded with veneration by the people, as the contemporary and associate of a transaction so interesting to their liberties. Andros finding all his efforts ineffectual to recover the charter, or ascertain the person by whom it had been secreted, contented himself with declaring the ancient government dissolved; and assuming the administration into his own hands, he created two of the principal inhabitants members of his general legislative council[7].

Having thus united the whole of New England under one administration, Andros proceeded, with the assistance of his grand legislative council selected from the inhabitants of the several provinces, to enact laws and regulations calculated to fortify his government, and to effectuate the changes which he deemed necessary to its security. An act reviving the former taxation was obtained from the council; and yet, even this necessary proceeding was obstructed by the reluctance with which these persons, though selected

[7] Hutchinson, i. 339. Chalmers, 297, 8. Dwight's Travels in New England and New York, vol. i. p. 121. Trumbull, i. Cap. xv.

by himself, consented to become the instruments of riveting the shackles of their country. The only farther opposition which he experienced, proceeded from the inhabitants of the county of Essex, who, insisting that they were freemen, refused to appropriate the assessments of a taxation which they considered unlawfully imposed. But their opposition was easily suppressed, and many of them severely punished. Andros very quickly found that the revenues of the ancient government would be insufficient to support the expenses of his more costly administration; and while he notified this defalcation to the king, he intimated, at the same time, with a degree of humanity that at least deserves to be noticed, that the country was so much impoverished by the effects of the Indian war and recent losses at sea and scanty harvests, that an increase of taxation could with difficulty be borne. But the king had exhausted his humanity in the letter of instructions, and returned peremptory orders to raise the taxes to a level with the charges of administration; and Andros from this moment, either stifling his humanity, or discarding his superfluous respect to the moderation of the king, proceeded to exercise his power with a rigour and injustice that rendered his government universally odious. The weight of taxation was oppressively augmented, and all the fees of office screwed up to an enormous height. The ceremonial of marriage was altered, and the celebration of that rite, which had been hitherto exercised by the magistrates, was confined to the ministers of the church of England, of whom there was only one in the province of Massachusetts. The fasts and thanksgivings appointed by the congregational churches were arbitrarily suppressed by the governor, who gave notice that the regulation of such matters belonged entirely to the civil power. He declared repeatedly in council that the people would

CHAP. V. 1687.

Oppressive government of Andros.

BOOK II. 1687.

find themselves mistaken if they supposed that the privileges of Englishmen would follow them to the end of the world, and that the only difference between their condition and that of slaves, was that they were neither bought nor sold. It was declared unlawful for the colonists to assemble in public meetings, or for any one to quit the province without a passport from the governor; and Randolph, now at the summit of his wishes, was not ashamed to boast in his letters that the rulers of New England "were as arbitrary as the great Turk." While Andros mocked the people with the semblance of trial by jury, he easily contrived, by the well-known practice of *packing* juries, to convict and wreak his vengeance on every person who offended him, as well as to screen the enormities of his own dependents from the punishment they deserved. And, as if to complete the discontent that such proceedings excited, he took occasion to question the validity of individual titles to land, declaring that the rights acquired under the sanction of the ancient government were tainted with its vices and must share its fate [8]. New grants or patents from the governor were declared to be requisite to mend the defective titles to land; and writs of intrusion were issued against those who refused to apply for such patents and to pay the enormous fees that were charged for them. The king, indeed, had now encouraged Andros to consider the people whom he governed as a society of felons or rebels; for he transmitted to him express directions to grant his majesty's most gracious pardon to as many of the people as should apply for it. But none had the meanness to ask for a grace that suited only the guilty. The only act of the king that was favour-

[8] The titles of many of the proprietors of estates in New England depended upon conveyances executed by the Indians; but Andros declared that Indian deeds were no better than "the scratch of a bear's paw." Belknap, i. 233.

ably regarded by the inhabitants of the colony, was his *declaration of indulgence*, which excited so much dissatisfaction in Britain, even among the protestant dissenters who shared its benefit. Notwithstanding the intolerance that has been imputed to New England, this declaration produced general satisfaction there, though there were not wanting some who had discernment enough to perceive that the sole object of the king was the gradual re-introduction of popery [9].

CHAP. IV.

1687.

After many ineffectual remonstrances against his oppressive proceedings had been made by the colonists to Andros himself, two deputies, one of whom was Increase Mather, the most eminent divine and most popular minister in Massachusetts, were sent over to England, to submit the grievances of the colony to the humane consideration of the king. Randolph, who was revelling in the profits of the office of post-master-general of New England, with which his servility had been rewarded, laboured to defeat the success of the deputation by writing to the English ministry that Mather was a seditious and profligate incendiary, and that his object was to pave the way to the overthrow of regal government. Yet the requests of the colonists were extremely moderate. Whatever they might desire, all that they demanded was that their freeholds might be respected, and that a colonial assembly might be established for the purpose, at least, of adjusting their taxation. The first of these points was conceded by the king; but as to the other, he was inexorable. When Sir William Phipps, who had gained his esteem by his spirit and gallantry, pressed him to grant the colonists an assembly, he replied, "Any thing but that, Sir William;" and even the opinion of Bowis, the attorney-general,

April, 1688.

[9] Life of Phipps, *apud* Mather, B. ii. Neal, ii. 428, 436, 437. Hutchinson, i. 355—364. 369. Chalmers, 422, 423. Trumbull, i. cap. 15.

BOOK III. 1686.

to whom the application of the deputies had been submitted, and who reported in favour of it, produced no change in his determination. James had now matured and extended his system of colonial policy. He had determined to reduce all the American governments, as well those which were denominated *proprietary* as others, to an immediate dependence on the crown, for the double purpose of effacing the examples that might diminish the resignation of the people of New England, and of combining the force of all the colonies from the banks of the Delaware to the shores of Nova Scotia, into a compact body that might be capable of presenting a barrier to the formidable encroachments of France. A general aversion to liberal institutions, no doubt, concurred with these purposes; and the panegyrics that resounded from his oppressed subjects in Britain on the happiness that was reported to be enjoyed in America, contributed, at this period, in no slight degree to whet his dislike to American institutions[1]. With a view to the accomplishment of this design, he had in the preceding year commanded writs of *quo warranto* to be issued for the purpose of cancelling all the patents that still remained in force; and, shortly before the arrival of the deputation from Massachusetts, a new commission had been directed to Andros, annexing New York and New Jersey to his government, and appointing Francis Nicholson

Colonial policy of the king.

[1] Dryden, whose servile muse faithfully re-echoed the sentiments of the court, thus expresses himself in a theatrical prologue written in the year 1686.—

"Since faction ebbs, and rogues grow out of fashion,
Their penny scribes take care to inform the nation
How well men thrive in this or that plantation:

How Pennsylvania's air agrees with quakers,
And Carolina's with associators:
Both e'en too good for madmen and for traitors.

Truth is, our land with saints is so run o'er,
And every age produces such a store,
That now there 's need of two New Englands more."

his lieutenant. Andros effectuated this annexation with his usual promptitude; and, having appointed Nicholson deputy-governor at New York, he administered the whole of his vast dominion with a vigour that rendered him formidable to the French, but, unhappily, still more formidable and odious to the people whom he governed[2]. CHAP. VI. 1688.

Sir William Phipps.

Sir William Phipps, who had employed his influence with the king in behalf of the deputation from Massachusetts, was himself a native of the province, and, notwithstanding a mean education and the depression of the humblest circumstances, had raised himself by the mere vigour of his mind to a conspicuous rank, and gained a high reputation for spirit, skill, and success. He kept sheep in his native province till he was eighteen years of age, and was afterwards apprenticed to a ship carpenter. When he was freed from his indentures, he pursued a seafaring life, and attained the station of captain of a merchant vessel. Having met with an account of the wreck of a Spanish ship, loaded with great treasures, near the Bahama islands, about fifty years before, he conceived a plan of extricating the buried treasure from the bowels of the deep; and, transporting himself to England, he stated his scheme so plausibly that the king was struck with it, and in 1683 sent him out with a vessel to make the attempt. It proved unsuccessful; and all his urgency could not induce the king to engage in a repetition of it. But the Duke of Albemarle, resuming the design, equipped a vessel for the purpose, and gave the command of it to Phipps, who now realizing the expectations he had formed, succeeded in raising specie to the value of at least £300,000, from the bottom of the ocean. Of this treasure, he obtained a portion sufficient to make his fortune, with a still

[2] Neal, ii. 428, 429. Hutchinson, i. 366—368. 371. Chalmers, 424—428.

BOOK III. 1688.

larger need of general consideration and applause. The king was exhorted by some of his courtiers to confiscate to the whole of the specie thus recovered, on pretence that a fair representation of the project had not been made to him; but he declared that the representation had been perfectly fair, and that nothing but his own misgivings, and the evil advice and mean suspicions of these courtiers themselves, had deprived him of the treasure that this honest man had laboured to procure him. He conceived a high regard for Phipps, and conferred the rank of knighthood upon him. Sir William employed his influence at court for the benefit of his country; and his patriotism seems not to have harmed him in the opinion of the king. Finding that he could not prevail to obtain the restoration of the charter privileges, he solicited and received the appointment of high sheriff of New England; in the hope that by remedying the abuses that were committed in the impannelling of juries, he might create a barrier against the tyranny of Andros. But the governor and his creatures, incensed at this interference, made an attempt to have him assassinated, and soon compelled him to quit the province and take shelter in England. James, shortly before his own abdication, among the other attempts he made to conciliate his subjects, offered Phipps the government of New England; but, happily for his pretensions to an office he so well deserved, he refused to accept it from a falling tyrant, and under a system which, instead of seeking any longer to mitigate, he hoped speedily to see dissolved.

The dissatisfactions of the people of New England continued meanwhile to increase, to such a height, that every act of the government was viewed through the medium of a strong dislike. In order

Life of Phipps, apud Mather, B. vii. Neal, ii. 420–423, 428. Hutchinson, i. 397.

to discredit the ancient administration, Andros and Randolph had laboured to propagate the opinion that the Indians had hitherto been treated with cruelty and injustice, to which all the hostilities with these savages ought reasonably to be imputed; and had vaunted their own ability to rule them by gentleness and equity[4]. But this year their theory and their policy were alike disgraced by the furious hostilities of the Indians on the eastern frontiers of New England. The movements of these savages were excited on this, as on former occasions, by the insidious artifices of the French, whose unprincipled suppleness of character and demeanour has always been much more acceptable to the Indians in their native condition, than the grave unbending spirit of the English, and has found it easier to cultivate and employ than to check or eradicate the treachery and ferocity of their Indian neighbours. The English settlers offered to the Indians terms of accommodation, which at first they seemed willing to accept; but the encouragements of their French allies soon prevailed with them to reject all friendly overtures, and their native ferocity prompted them to signalize this declaration by a series of unprovoked and unexpected massacres. Andros published a proclamation requiring that the murderers should be delivered up to him; but the Indians treated him and his proclamation with contempt. In the depth of winter he found himself obliged to march against them; and though he succeeded in occupying and fortifying positions which enabled him to curb their insolence, he made little or no impression on their numerical strength, and lost a great many of his own men in vain attempts to follow them into their fastnesses, in the

CHAP. VI.

1688.

Indian hostilities renewed by the intrigues of the French.

[4] It appears that Randolph cultivated the good opinion of William Penn, by writing to him in this strain, as well as by condemning the former persecution of the quakers in Massachusetts. Hutchinson, 364. Chalmers, 423, 424.

BOOK II.

1688. most rigorous season of the year. So strong and so undiscriminating was the dislike he had excited among the people of New England, that this expedition was unjustly ascribed to a wish to destroy the troops, whom he conducted, by cold and famine [5].

1689. At length the smothered rage of the people burst forth. In the following spring some vague intelligence was received, by way of Virginia, of the proceedings of the Prince of Orange in England. The old magistrates and leading men of the colony ardently wished and secretly prayed that success might attend him; but they determined in so great a cause to commit nothing unnecessarily to hazard, and quietly to await an event which they supposed that no movement of theirs could either accelerate or retard. But New England was destined to effect, by her own efforts, her own liberation; and the inhabitants of Massachusetts were now to exercise the brave privilege which nearly a century after, and in a conflict still more arduous, their children again were ready to assert, of being the first to resist oppression, and showing their countrymen the way to independence. The cautious policy and prudential dissuasions from violence that were employed by the older inhabitants of the province, were utterly disregarded by the great body of the people. Stung with the recollection of past injuries, their impatience, on the first prospect of relief, could not be restrained. All at once, and apparently without any preconcerted plan, an insurrection broke forth in the town of Boston; the drums beat to arms, the people flocked together; and in a few hours the revolt became so universal, and the energy of the people so overpowering, that all thoughts of resisting their purpose were abandoned by the government. The scruples of the more wealthy and cautious in-

Insurrection at Boston.

[5] Neal, ii. 425—427. Hutchinson, i. 364, 365, 370, 371.

habitants were completely overcome by the obvious necessity of interfering to calm and regulate the fervour of the populace. Andros and about fifty of the most obnoxious characters were seized and imprisoned. On the first intelligence of the tumult, Andros had sent a party of soldiers to apprehend Mr. Bradstreet; a measure that served only to suggest to the people who their leader ought to be, and to anticipate the unanimous choice by which this venerable man was reinstated in the office he had held when his country was deprived of her liberties. Though now bending under the weight of ninety years, his intellectual powers seemed to have undergone but little abatement: he retained (says Cotton Mather) a vigour and wisdom that would have recommended a younger man to the government of a greater colony. As the tidings of the revolt spread through the province, the people eagerly flew to arms, and hurried to Boston to co-operate with their countrymen in the cause which they found already crowned with complete success. To the assembled crowds a declaration was read from the balcony of the Court House, enumerating the grievances of the colony, and tracing the whole to the tyrannical abrogation of the charter. A committee of safety was appointed by general consent; and an assembly of representatives being convened soon after, this body, by an unanimous vote, and with the hearty concurrence of the whole province, declared their ancient charter and its constitutions to be resumed; re-appointed Bradstreet and all the other magistrates who had been in office in the year 1686; and directed these persons in all things to conform to the provisions of the charter, "that this method of government may be found among us when order shall come from the higher powers in England." They declared that Andros and the counsellors who had

CHAP. V.

1689. Andros deposed—

and the ancient government restored.

BOOK II.

1689.

been imprisoned along with him were detained in custody to abide the directions that might be received concerning them from his highness the Prince of Orange and the English parliament [6]. What would be the extent of the revolution that was in progress in the parent state, and to what settlement of affairs it would finally conduct, was yet wholly unknown in the colonies.

Connecticut and Rhode Island resume their charters.

The example of Massachusetts was immediately followed by the other provinces of New England. When the tidings of the revolution at Boston reached Connecticut, the inhabitants determined no longer to acknowledge a governor who from the command of one half of the colonies was now reduced to the situation of a delinquent in jail. Their charter reappeared from its concealment; and the chartered government, which had never been either expressly surrendered or legally dissolved, was instantly resumed with universal satisfaction. The people of Rhode Island had never been required to give up the charter whose privileges they had so solemnly and formally surrendered; and they now scrupled not to declare that it was still in force, and to remove as well as they could the only obstruction to this plea, by repealing the act of surrender. New Plymouth, in like manner, resumed instantaneously its ancient form of government. In New Hampshire, a general convention of the inhabitants was called, and the resolution adopted of re-annexing the province to Massachusetts. In conformity with this resolution, deputies were elected to represent them in the general court at Boston: but King William refused to comply with the wishes of the people, and some time after appointed a separate governor for New Hampshire [7].

[6] Lives of Bradstreet and Phipps, *supra*. Mather, B. ii. Neal, ii. 429—436. Hutchinson, i. 373—382.

[7] Hutchinson, i. 383. Chalmers, 278, 279. 293. 498.

Although the people of Massachusetts had at first intimated very plainly their purpose to revive by their own act their ancient charter, the cool consideration that succeeded the ferment during which this purpose had been entertained, convinced them that it was necessary to forego it, and that the restoration of a charter so formally vacated by the existing authorities of the parent state could proceed only from the crown or legislature of England. Hearing of the convention of estates that had been convoked by the Prince of Orange in England, the provincial government of Massachusetts called together a similar convention of the counties and towns of the province; and it was the opinion of the majority of this assembly that the charter could not be resumed. Intelligence having arrived of the settlement of England and the investiture of William and Mary with the crown, they were proclaimed in the colony with extraordinary solemnity and universal satisfaction. A letter was soon after addressed, by the new sovereigns, *To the Colony of Massachusetts*, expressing the royal allowance and approbation of the late proceedings of the people, and authorising the present magistrates to continue the administration of the public affairs, till their majesties, with the advice of the privy council, should settle them on a basis that would be satisfactory to all their subjects in the colony. An order was transmitted, at the same time, to send Andros, and the other prisoners to England, that they might answer the charges preferred against them. Additional deputies were chosen by the colony to join Mr. Mather, who still continued in England, and, in concurrence with him, to substantiate the charges against Andros, and, above all, to endeavour to procure the restoration of the charter[8].

1689.

May 26. William and Mary proclaimed.

May 29.

August 12.

[8] Neal, ii. 449. Hutchinson, i. 382. 390, 1.

BOOK II.

1689. But before the colonists were able to ascertain if this favourite object was to be promoted by the English revolution, they felt the evil effects of that great event, in the consequences of the war that had already broken out between England and France. The war between the two parent states quickly extended itself to their possessions in America, and the colonies of New England and New York were now involved in bloody and desolating hostilities with the forces of the French in Canada, and their Indian auxiliaries and allies. The hostilities that were directed against New York belong to another portion of this history. In concert with them, various attacks were made by considerable bodies of the Indians in the conclusion of this year on the settlements and forts in New Hampshire and Maine; and in several instances being crowned with success, they were productive of the most horrid extremities of savage cruelty. Fully aware that these depredations originated in Canada and Acadie, the general court of Massachusetts prepared during the winter an expedition against both Port Royal and Quebec. The command of it was intrusted to Sir William Phipps, who, on the dissolution of the late arbitrary government, had come to New England in the hope of being able to render some service to his countrymen. Eight small vessels, with seven or eight hundred men, sailed under his command in the following spring, and, almost without opposition, took possession of Port Royal and of the whole province of Acadie: and, within a month after its departure, the fleet returned loaded with plunder enough to defray the whole expense of the expedition. But the Count Frontignac, the governor of Canada, retorted by severe and bloody attacks on the more remote of the colonial settlements; and, animating the hostilities of his Indian allies, kept the frontiers in a state of incessant alarm by their continued

War with the French and Indians.

April, 1690. Sir William Phipps conquers Arcadie.

incursions. Letters had been written by the general court to King William, urging the importance of the conquest of Canada, and soliciting his aid towards that attempt; but he was too much occupied in Europe to extend his exertions to America, and the general court determined to prosecute the expedition without his assistance. New York and Connecticut engaged to furnish a body of men who should march by the way of Lake Champlain to the attack of Montreal, while the troops of Massachusetts should proceed by sea to Quebec. The fleet destined for this expedition consisted of nearly forty vessels, the largest of which carried forty-four guns, and the number of troops on board amounted to two thousand. The command of this considerable armament was confided to Sir William Phipps, who, in the conduct of it, demonstrated his usual courage, and every qualification except that military experience, without which, in warfare waged on so large a scale with a civilised enemy, all the others will prove unavailing. The troops of Connecticut and New York, retarded by defective arrangements, and disappointed of the assistance of the friendly Indians who had engaged to furnish them with canoes for crossing the rivers they had to pass, were compelled to retire without attacking Montreal, and the whole force of Canada was thus concentrated to resist the attack of Phipps. His armament arrived before Quebec so late in the season, that only a *coup de main* could have enabled him to carry the place; but by unskilful delay, the time for such an attempt was suffered to pass unimproved. The English were worsted in various severe encounters, and compelled at length to make a precipitate retreat; and the fleet, after sustaining considerable loss in the voyage homeward, returned to Boston. Such was the unfortunate conclusion of an expedition which had involved the

1690.

Ineffectual expedition against Quebec.

August 9.

October.

Nov. 13.

BOOK II.

1690.

colony in an enormous expense, and cost the lives of at least a thousand men. The French had so strongly apprehended that it would be successful, that they scrupled not to ascribe its failure to the immediate interposition of Heaven, in confounding the devices of the enemy, and depriving them of common sense; and, under this impression, the people of Quebec established an annual procession in commemoration of their deliverance. It is, however, a strong proof of the good conduct of Phipps, that a result so disastrous exposed him to no blame, and deprived him in no degree of the favour of his countrymen. And yet the disappointment, and the effects that resulted from it, were remarkably severe. The general court of Massachusetts had not even anticipated the possibility of miscarriage, and had expected to derive, from the success of the expedition, the same reimbursement of its expenses, of which their former enterprise had been productive. The returning army, finding the government totally unprepared to satisfy their claims, were on the point of mutinying for their pay; and it was found necessary to issue bills of credit, which the soldiers consented to accept in place of money. The colony was now in a very depressed and suffering state. Endeavouring to improve the calamities which they were unable to avoid, the government earnestly endeavoured to promote the increase of piety and the reformation of manners; and urged upon the ministers and the people the duty of strongly resisting that worldliness of mind, which the necessity of contending violently for the things of this world is apt to beget. The attacks of the Indians on the eastern frontiers were attended with a degree of success and barbarity that diffused general terror; and the colonists were expecting in this quarter to be driven from their settlements, when, all at once, these sa-

vages, of their own accord, proposed a peace of six months, which was accepted by the government with great willingness and devout gratitude. As it was perfectly ascertained that the hostile proceedings of these savages were continually fostered by the intrigues, and rendered the more formidable by the assistance and instructions of the French authorities in Canada, the conquest of this province began to be considered by the people of New England indispensable to their safety and tranquillity. In the hope of prevailing with the king to sanction and embrace this enterprise, as well as for the purpose of aiding the other deputies in the no less interesting application for the restoration of the colonial charter, Sir William Phipps, soon after his return from Quebec, by desire of his countrymen proceeded to England[9]. CHAP. V. 1690.

In the discharge of the duties of their mission, the deputies appear to have employed every effort that patriotic zeal could prompt, and honourable policy could admit, to obtain satisfaction to their constituents in the punishment of their oppressors, and the restitution of their charter. But in both these objects their endeavours were unsuccessful; and the failure (whether justly or not) was generally ascribed to the unbending integrity with which Mather and Phipps rejected every art and intrigue that seemed inconsistent with the honour of their country. It was soon discovered that the king and his ministers were extremely averse to an inquiry into the conduct of Andros and Randolph, and not less so to the restitution of the ancient charter of the colony. The proceedings of the British court on this occasion present a confused and disgusting picture of intrigue 1691. Impeachment of Andros by the colony discouraged by the English ministers—

9 Neal, ii. 449—470. Hutchinson, i. 395—404. Governor Colden's History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada, i. 138. Colden erroneously supposes the expedition against Quebec to have taken place in the following year.

BOOK II.

1691.

and duplicity[1]. The deputies were beset by pretended counsellors and partizans, some perhaps indiscreet, and some no doubt insincere. They were persuaded, by certain of their advisers, to present to the privy council the charges against Andros *unsigned*, and assured by others, that in so doing they had *cut the throat of their country*. When they attended to present their charges, they were anticipated by Andros and Randolph, who came prepared with a charge against the colony for rebellion against lawful authority, and the imprisonment of their legitimate governor. Sir John Somers, the counsel for the deputies, consented that they should abandon the situation of accusers and stand on the defensive; and he tendered the unsigned charges as an answer to the accusations of Andros and Randolph. The council demurred to the reception of a plea presented in the name of a whole people, and required that some individuals should appear and make the plea their own. "Who was it," said the Lord President, "that imprisoned Sir Edmund and the rest? you say it was the country, and that they rose as one man. But that is nobody. Let us see the persons who will make it their own case." The deputies thereupon offered to sign the charges, and to undertake individually every responsibility for the

[1] Philosophic observers have been struck with surprise at the contrast between the language and the conduct of the English whigs in the Revolution of 1688. Their conduct in effecting the great change was liberal and manly. Their language, contracted and prejudiced, seemed intended to veil the audacity of their proceedings from the grossness of public view. They asserted indefeasible hereditary right with their tongues, while they violated it with their hands; and re-enacted the settlement of the crown in the very words of that act of settlement which they had so deliberately set aside—endeavouring, like the entailer of an estate, to deprive their posterity of the liberty that they themselves had enjoyed and found it necessary to exercise. They seemed to have considered the Americans in some such light as they regarded their own posterity, and to have looked with very little favour on every exercise of liberty independent of themselves. While they studied to clothe their own conduct in the semblance of precedent, they exacted a substantial adherence to precedent from their successors and their dependents.

CHAP. V.

1691.

acts of their countrymen. But they were deterred from this proceeding by the remonstrances of Sir John Somers, who insisted (for no intelligible purpose) on persisting in the course in which they had begun. Some of the councillors too, protested against the injustice and chicanery of encountering the complaint of a whole country with objections of such a technical description. "Is not it plain," they urged, "that the revolution in Massachusetts was carried on exactly in the same manner as the revolution in England? Who seized and imprisoned Chancellor Jeffries? Who secured the garrison of Hull? These were the acts of the people, and not of private individuals." This difference of opinion on a point of form seems to have been the object which the ministry had studied to promote. Without determining the point, the council interrupted the discussion by a resolution, that the whole matter should be submitted to the king; and his majesty soon after signified his pleasure that the complaints of both parties should be dismissed[2]. Thus terminated the impeachment of Andros, in a manner very ill calculated to impress the people of Massachusetts with respect for the justice of the British government. They had soon after the mortification of seeing him add reward to impunity, and honoured with the appointment of governor of Virginia[3].

and dismissed.

The deputies finding that the House of Commons, though at first disposed to annul the proceedings on the *quo warranto* against Massachusetts, had been persuaded by the arguments of Somers and the other

[2] Neal, ii. 477. Hutchinson, i. 394, 5.

[3] Randolph was not sent back to America. He received, however, an appointment in the West Indies, where he died, retaining, it is said, his dislike of the people of New England to the last. Eliot's Biographical Dictionary of New England, 402, 3. Cranfield, the tyrant of New Hampshire, was appointed collector of Barbadoes. He repented of his conduct in New England, and endeavoured to atone for it by showing all the kindness in his power to the traders from that country. Belknap, i. 222.

BOOK II.

1691.

lawyers who had seats in the house to depart from this purpose, and that the king was determined not to restore the old charter, employed every effort to obtain at least a restitution of the privileges it had contained. But William and his ministers, though deterred from imitating the tyrannical proceedings of the former reign, were heartily desirous of availing themselves of whatever acquisitions these proceedings might have made to the royal prerogative; and finding that the crown had acquired a legal pretext to exercise a much stronger authority over the colony than had been reserved in its original constitution, it was determined to take advantage of this pretext without regard to the tyrannical nature of the proceeding by which it had been obtained. The restoration of their ancient privilege of electing their own municipal officers was ardently desired by the people, and contended for by the deputies with a vehemence which the king would probably have resented as disrespectful to himself, if he had not felt himself bound to excuse the irritation excited by his own injustice. He adhered inflexibly to his determination of retaining, as far as possible, every advantage that fortune had put into his hands: and at length a new charter was framed, with changes that materially affected the ancient constitution of the colony, and transferred to the crown many valuable privileges that had originally belonged to the people. By this charter the territories of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Maine, together with the conquered province of Acadie or Nova Scotia, were united together in one jurisdiction—an arrangement that was by no means satisfactory to the parties included in it; for Plymouth, which had earnestly solicited a separate establishment, was forcibly annexed to Massachusetts; and Hampshire, which had as earnestly petitioned to be included in this annexa-

The king refuses to restore the ancient constitution of Massachusetts.

October 7. Tenor of the new charter.

tion, was erected into a separate jurisdiction [4]. The appointment of the governor, deputy governor, secretary, and all the officers of the admiralty, was reserved to the crown. Twenty-eight councillors were directed to be chosen by the House of Assembly, and presented to the governor for his approbation. The governor was empowered to convoke, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve the assembly at pleasure; to nominate, exclusively, all military officers, and (with the consent of his council) all the judges and other officers of the law. To the governor was reserved a negative on the laws and acts of the general assembly and council; and all laws enacted by these bodies and approved by the governor were appointed to be transmitted to England for the royal approbation; and if disallowed within the space of three years, they were to be utterly void [5].

The innovations that were thus introduced into their ancient constitution, excited much discontent in the minds of the people of Massachusetts; the more so because the extension of royal authority was not attended with a proportional communication of the royal protection: and the king, at the very time when he appropriated the most valuable privileges of the people, found himself constrained, by the urgency of his affairs in Europe, to refuse the assistance which the people had besought from him to repel the hostilities of the Indians and of the French settlers in Canada. The situation of the states of Connecticut and Rhode Island, which were permitted to reassume all their ancient privileges, rendered the injustice with which

[4] The union, so earnestly desired by the people of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, was overruled by the interest, and for the convenience, of Samuel Allen, a merchant in London, to whom Mason's heirs had sold their claim to the soil of New Hampshire. He was appointed the first governor of the province; and employing his authority in vexatious but unsuccessful attempts to effectuate his purchased claim, rendered himself extremely odious to the people. Belknap, i. cap. ix. and xi. He was superseded by Lord Bellamont in 1698.

[5] Mather, B. ii. Life of Sir W. Phipps, sec. 14. Neal, ii. 475—480, and Append. 617. Hutchinson, i. 405—12. Belknap.

BOOK II. 1691.

Massachusetts was treated more flagrant and irritating. Though legal technicalities might seem to warrant the advantage which those states enjoyed, it was utterly repugnant to the enlarged views of justice and equity which ought to regulate the policy of a legislator. Only mistake on the one hand, or their own artifice on the other, could be supposed to entitle them to a distinction that made the treatment of Massachusetts more invidious: and a very dangerous lesson was taught to the colonies when they were thus given to understand that it was their own vigilant dexterity and successful intrigue, or the blunders of the parent state, that they were to rely on as the safeguards of their rights. The injustice of the policy of which Massachusetts now complained was rendered still more glaringly apparent by the very different treatment obtained by the powerful corporation of the city of London. The charter of this city, though annulled with the same solemnity, and on grounds as plausible, as the ancient charter of Massachusetts, was restored by a legislative act immediately after the revolution. Nor was any political advantage derived by the English government from this violation of just and equitable principles. The patronage that was wrested from the people and appropriated by the crown, was quite inadequate to the formation of a powerful royal party in the country. The appointment of the governor and other officers was regarded as a badge of dependance, instead of forming a bond of union. The popular assemblies retained sufficient influence over the governors to curb them in the enforcement of obnoxious measures, and sufficient power to restrain them from making any serious inroad on the constitution. It is a remarkable fact that the dissensions between the two countries, which afterwards terminated in the dissolution of the British empire in America, were in a

great degree promoted by the pernicious counsels and erroneous information that the colonial governors of those provinces, in which the appointment to that office was exercised by the king, transmitted to the English ministry. CHAP. V. 1691.

Aware of the dissatisfaction with which the new charter was regarded, the ministers of William judged it prudent to wave in the outset the full exercise of the invidious prerogative, and desired the deputies to name the person whom they considered most acceptable to their countrymen as governor of Massachusetts: and the deputies having concurred in the nomination of Sir William Phipps, the appointment to this office was bestowed on him accordingly. This act of courtesy was attended with a degree of success in mollifying the ill humour of the people, that strongly attests the high estimation in which Phipps was held: for on his arrival in Boston, though some discontent was expressed, and several of the members of the general court loudly insisted that the new charter should be absolutely rejected[6], yet the great body of the people received him with acclamations; and a large majority of the general court resolved that the charter should be thankfully accepted, and appointed a day of thanksgiving for the safe arrival of their worthy governor and Mr. Mather, whose services they acknowledged with grateful commemoration. The new governor hastened to approve himself worthy of the favourable regards of his countrymen. Having convoked a general assembly of the

Sir William Phipps governor. May, 1692.

[6] Mr. Mather and the other deputies, when they found it impossible to obtain an alteration of the new charter, proposed at first to reject it altogether, and to institute a protest for trying the validity of the judgment pronounced on the *quo warranto*. They were deterred from this proceeding by the solemn assurance of Treby, Somers, and the two chief justices of England, that if the judgment were reversed, a new *quo warranto* would be issued, and undoubtedly followed by a judgment exempt from all ground of challenge. These learned persons assured the deputies that the colonists, by erecting judicatories, constituting a house of representatives, and incorporating colleges, had forfeited their charter, which gave no sanction to such acts of authority. Hutchinson, i. 415.

BOOK II.

1692.

province, he addressed them in a short but characteristic speech, recommending to them the preparation of a body of good laws with all the expedition they could exert. "Gentlemen," said he, "you may make yourselves as easy as you will for ever. Consider what may have a tendency to your welfare, and you may be sure that whatever bills you offer to me, consistent with the honour and interest of the crown, I'll pass them readily. I do but seek opportunities to serve you. Had it not been for the sake of this thing, I had never accepted of this province. And whenever you have settled such a body of good laws, that no person coming after me may make you uneasy, I shall desire not one day longer to continue in the government." His conduct amply corresponded with these professions [7].

The administration of Sir William Phipps, however, was neither long nor prosperous. Though he might give his sanction as governor to popular laws, it was not in his power to guard them from being rescinded by the crown: and this fate soon befel a law that was passed exempting the people from all taxes but such as should be imposed by their own assemblies, and declaring their right to share all the privileges of Magna Charta. He found the province involved in a distressing war with the French and Indians, and in the still more formidable calamity of that delusion which has been termed *the New England witchcraft*. When the Indians were informed of the appointment of Sir William Phipps to the office of governor of Massachusetts, they were struck with amazement at the fortunes of the man whose humble origin they perfectly well knew, and with whom they had familiarly associated but a few years before in the obscurity of his primitive condition. Impressed

[7] Mather, B. ii. Life of Phipps. Neal, ii. 480, 481. 486—488. Hutchinson, i. 413. 415, 416.

with a high opinion of his courage and resolution, and a superstitious dread of that fortune that seemed destined to surmount every obstacle and prevail over every disadvantage, they would willingly have made peace, but were induced to continue the war by the artifices and intrigues of the French. A few months after his arrival, the governor, at the head of a small army, marched to Pemmaquid, on the Merrimack river, and there caused to be constructed a fort of considerable strength, and calculated by its situation to form a powerful barrier to the province, and to overawe the neighbouring tribes of Indians and interrupt their mutual communication. The beneficial effect of this operation was experienced in the following year, when the Indians sent ambassadors to the fort at Pemmaquid, and there at length concluded with English commissioners a treaty of peace, by which they renounced for ever the interests of the French, and pledged themselves to perpetual amity with the inhabitants of New England[8]. The colonists, who had suffered severely from the recent depredations of these savages[9], and were still labouring under the burdens entailed on them by former wars, were not slow to embrace the first overtures of peace; and yet the utmost discontent was excited by the measure to which they were indebted for the deliverance they had so ardently desired. The expense of building the fort and of maintaining its garrison and stores occasioned an addition to the existing taxes, which was borne with much impatience. The party who had opposed submission to the new charter, eagerly promoted every complaint against the administration of a system which they regarded with rooted aversion; and laboured so successfully on this

1692.

1693.

[8] Neal, ii. 488—494. Hutchinson, ii. 64.

[9] The situation of the people of New Hampshire, in particular, had become so irksome and dangerous that at one time they appear to have adopted the resolution of abandoning the province. Belknap, i. 266.

BOOK II. 1693.

occasion to render the person and government of Sir William Phipps odious to his countrymen, that his popularity sustained a shock from which it never afterwards entirely recovered. The people were easily led to connect in their apprehension the increase of taxation with the abridgement of their political privileges, and to believe that if they had retained their ancient control over the officers of government, the administration of their affairs might have been more economically conducted. But another cause, to which I have already alluded, and which we must now proceed more fully to consider, rendered the minds of the people at this time unusually susceptible of gloomy impressions, and suspicions not less irritating than unreasonable.

The New England witchcraft.

The belief of witchcraft was at this period almost universal in christian countries; and the existence and criminality of the practice were recognised in the penal code of every civilized state. Persons suspected of being witches and wizards were frequently tried, condemned, and put to death by the authority of the most enlightened tribunals in Europe; and, in particular, but a few years before this period, Sir Matthew Hale, a man highly and justly renowned for the strength of his understanding, the variety of his knowledge, and the eminent christian graces that adorned his character, had, after a long and anxious investigation, adjudged a number of persons to die for this offence, at an assize in Suffolk [1]. The reality

[1] Howell's State Trials, vol. vi. p. 647. Even so late as the middle of the eighteenth century, the conviction of the witches of Warbois, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, was still commemorated in an annual sermon at Huntingdon. Johnson's Works, Observations on the tragedy of Macbeth. The seceders in Scotland published an act of their associate presbytery at Edinburgh in 1743 (reprinted at Glasgow in 1766) denouncing the repeal of the penal laws against witchcraft as a national sin. Arnot's Criminal Trials in Scotland, 367.

In the year 1672 (sixty years before the act against witchcraft in England) Louis the Fourteenth issued an edict forbidding the French tribunals to receive accusations of witchcraft. But this edict was ineffectual. Voltaire's Age of Louis XIV. cap. 29.

The last executions for witchcraft in the British dominions were at Huntingdon in 1716, and in Sutherlandshire in 1722. Arnot.

of witchcraft, as yet, had never been questioned, nor were there any to whom it appeared unimportant or incredible, except those who regarded the spiritual world altogether as a mere speculation, vague, visionary, and delusive. Among the number of those who every where believed in it, were some of the unfortunate beings who were put to death as witches. Instigated by fraud and cruelty, or possessed by demoniacal frenzy, some of these unhappy persons professed more or less openly to hold communication with the powers of darkness; and, by the administration of subtle poisons, by disturbing the imagination of their victims, or by an actual appropriation of that mysterious agency which scripture assures us did once exist, and which no equal authority has ever proved to be extinguished, they committed crimes and inflicted injuries which were punished, perhaps, under an erroneous name. The colonists of New England, participating in the general belief of this practice, regarded it with a degree of abhorrence and indignation becoming the piety for which they were so remarkably distinguished. Their experience in America had tended to strengthen the sentiments on this subject which they had brought with them from England; for they found the belief of witchcraft firmly rooted among the Indian tribes, and the practice (or what was so termed and esteemed) prevailing extensively, and with perfect impunity, among those people whom as heathens they justly regarded as the worshippers of demons[2]. Their conviction of the reality of witchcraft must necessarily have been confirmed by this evidence of the universal assent of mankind; and their resentment of its enormity proportionally increased by the honour and acceptance which they saw it enjoy under the shelter of superstitions that denied and dishonoured the true God.

[2] See Note XIII.

BOOK II.

1693.

The first trials for witchcraft in New England occurred in the year 1645, when four persons charged with this crime were put to death in Massachusetts. Goffe, the regicide, in his diary, records the conviction of three others at Hartford, in Connecticut, in 1662, and remarks, that, after one of them was hanged, the young woman who had been bewitched was restored to health. For more than twenty years after, we hear but little of any similar prosecutions. But, in the year 1688, a woman was executed for witchcraft at Boston, after an investigation conducted with a degree of solemnity that made a deep impression on the minds of the people. An account of the whole transaction was published, and so generally were the wise and good persuaded of the justice of the proceeding, that Richard Baxter wrote a preface to the account, in which he scrupled not to declare every one who refused to believe it an obdurate Sadducee[3]. The attention of the people being thus strongly excited, and their suspicions thus powerfully awakened in this direction, the charges of witchcraft began gradually to multiply, till, at length, there commenced at Salem that dreadful tragedy which rendered New England for many months a scene of bloodshed, terror, and madness, and at one time seemed to threaten the subversion of civil society.

It was in the beginning of the year 1692 that this malady seemed to originate in an epidemical complaint resembling epilepsy, and which the physicians, finding themselves unable to explain or cure, ascribed

[3] Cudworth declares that all who disbelieve witchcraft must be atheists. James the First caused a book that exposed the imposture of some pretended instances of witchcraft to be burned by the hands of the hangman—a favourite mode of reply with his majesty to the works of his adversaries. He had written a work on demonology, in which he thus described a part of the preparations for the invocation of evil spirits,—"Circles are made, *triangular*, *quadrangular*, round, double or single, according to the form of the apparition they crave." How the conjurors made triangular circles, he has omitted to explain. The famous Sacheverel, who told his hearers from the pulpit that the divine right of kings, and the divine origin of christianity, "concur like parallel lines, meeting in one common centre," seems to have inherited the mathematics as well as the politics of this prince.

very readily to supernatural machination. Some young women, and among others the daughter and niece of Mr. Paris, the minister of Salem, were first attacked by this distemper, and induced by the declarations of their medical attendants to ascribe it to witchcraft. The delusion was encouraged by a perverted application of the means best fitted to strengthen and enlighten the understanding. Solemn fasts and assemblies for extraordinary prayer were held by the neighbouring clergy; and the supposition of witchcraft, which in reality had been previously assumed, was thus confirmed and consecrated in the apprehension of the public. The fancy of the patients, perverted by disordered sensation, and inflamed by the contagious terror which their supposed malady excited, soon dictated accusations against particular individuals as the authors of their sufferings. The flame was now kindled, and finding ample nourishment in all the strongest passions and most inveterate weaknesses of human nature, carried havoc and destruction through the community. The bodily symptoms of the prevailing natural epidemic, frequently revolved by persons of weak mind and susceptible frame, were propagated with amazing rapidity, and having been once regarded as symptoms of witchcraft, were ever after referred to the same diabolical origin. The usual and well known contagion of nervous disorders was powerfully aided by the dread of the mysterious agency from which they were now supposed to arise; and this appalling dread, enfeebling the reason of its victims, soon led them to confound the visions of their disturbed apprehension with the realities of their experience. Symptoms before unheard of, and unusually terrific [4], attended the cases of the sufferers, and were supposed to prove

CHAP. V.

1693.

[4] Swelling of the throat, in particular, now well known as a hysterical symptom, was considered at this time a horrible prodigy. Medical science was still depraved by an admixture of gross superstition. The touch of a king was

BOOK II. 1693.

beyond a doubt that the disorder was supernatural, and no bodily ailment; while, in truth, they denoted nothing else than the extraordinary terror of the unhappy patients, who enhanced the malignity of their disease by the frightful agency to which they ascribed it. Every case of nervous derangement was now referred to this source, and every morbid affection of the spirits and fancy diverted into this dangerous channel. Accusations of particular individuals easily suggested themselves to the disordered minds of the sufferers, and were eagerly preferred by themselves and their relatives, in the hope of obtaining deliverance from the calamity, by the punishment of the guilty. These charges, however unsupported by proof, and however remote from probability, alighted with fatal influence wherever they fell. The supernatural intimation by which they were supposed to be communicated, supplied and excluded all ordinary proof; and when a patient, under the dominion of nervous affections, or in the intervals of epileptic paroxysms, declared that he had seen the apparition of a particular individual inflicting his sufferings, no consideration of previous character could screen the accused from a trial, which, if the patient persisted in the charge, invariably terminated in a conviction. The charges were frequently admitted without any other proof, for the very reason for which they should have been utterly rejected by human tribunals,—that they were judged incapable of common proof, or of being known to any but the accuser and the accused. So powerful and universal was the belief in the reality of the supposed witchcraft, that none dared, even if they had been disposed, openly to deny it; and even the innocent victims of the charges were constrained to argue on the assumption that the apparitions of them-

believed to be capable of curing some diseases; and astrology formed a part of the course of medical study, because the efficacy of drugs was believed to be promoted or impeded by planetary influence.

selves, described by their accusers, had really been seen; and reduced to plead that their semblance had been assumed by an evil spirit that sought to screen his proper instruments and divert the public indignation upon unoffending persons. It was answered, however, most gratuitously, but, unhappily to the conviction of the public, that an evil spirit could assume only the appearance of such persons as had given up their bodies to him, and devoted themselves to his service. The semblance of legal proof, besides, was very soon added to the force of these charges, and seeming to establish them in some cases was thought to confirm them in all. Some of the accused persons, terrified by their danger, sought safety in avowing the charge, recanting their supposed impiety, and denouncing others as their tempters and associates. In order to beget favour and verify their recantation, they now declared themselves the victims of the witchcraft they had formerly practised, counterfeited the nervous affections of their accusers, and imputed their sufferings to the vengeance of their ancient accomplices. These artifices and the general delusion were promoted by the conduct of the magistrates, who, with a monstrous inversion of equity and sound policy, offered impunity to all who would confess the charges and betray their associates, while they inflexibly doomed to death every accused person who maintained his innocence. Thus, one accusation produced a multitude of others, the accused becoming accusers and witnesses, and hastening to escape from the danger by involving other persons in it. From Salem, where its main fury was exerted, the evil spread extensively over the province of Massachusetts; and wherever it was able to penetrate, it effectually subverted the happiness and security of life. The sword of the law was wrested from the hands of justice, and committed to the grasp of the wildest fear and fury. Suspense and alarm pervaded

CHAP. V. 1693.

BOOK II.

1639.

all ranks of society. The first and the favourite objects of accusation had been ill-favoured old women, whose dismal aspect, exciting terror and aversion instead of pity and kindness, was reckoned a proof of their guilt, and seemed to designate the proper agents of mysterious and unearthly wickedness. But the sphere of accusation was progressively enlarged to such a degree, that at length neither age nor sex, neither ignorance nor innocence, neither learning nor piety, neither reputation nor office, could afford the slightest safeguard against a charge of witchcraft. Even irrational creatures were involved in this fatal charge; and a dog belonging to a gentleman accused of witchcraft, was hanged as an accomplice of its master. Under the dominion of terror, all mutual confidence seemed to be destroyed, and the best feelings of human nature trampled under foot. The nearest relations became each other's accusers; and one unhappy man, in particular, was condemned and executed on the testimony of his wife and daughter, who appear to have accused him merely for the sake of preserving themselves. Many respectable persons fled from the colony: others, maintaining their innocence, were capitally convicted, and died with a determined courage and piety that affected, but could not disabuse, the spectators. The accounts that have been preserved of the trials of these unfortunate persons, present a most revolting and humiliating picture of frenzy, folly, and injustice. There were received in evidence against the prisoners, accounts of losses and mishaps that had befallen the accusers or their cattle (in some cases, twenty years before the trial) recently after some meeting or some disagreement with the prisoners. Against others, it was deposed that they had performed greater feats of strength, and walked from one place to another in a shorter space of time than the accusers judged possible without diabolical assistance. But the main article of

proof was the spectral apparitions of the persons of the supposed witches to the eyes of their accusers during the paroxysms of their malady. The accusers sometimes declared that they could not see the prisoners at the bar of the court; which was construed into a proof of the immediate exertion of Satanic influence in rendering their persons invisible to the eyes of those who were to testify against them. The bodies of the prisoners were commonly examined for the discovery of what were termed witch-marks; and as the examiners did not know what they were seeking for, and yet earnestly desired to find it, every little puncture or discoloration of the skin was easily believed to be the impress of diabolical touch. In general the accusers fell into fits, or complained of violent uneasiness at the sight of the prisoners. On the trial of Mr. Burroughs, a clergyman of the highest respectability, some of the witnesses being affected in this manner, the judges replied to his protestations of innocence, by asking if he would venture to deny that these persons were then under the influence of diabolical agency. He answered that he did not deny it, but that he denied having any concern with it. "If you were not a friend of the devil," replied the presiding judge, "he would not exert himself in this manner to prevent these persons from speaking against you." When a prisoner in his defence uttered any thing that seemed to move the audience in his favour, some of the accusers were ready to exclaim that they saw the devil standing by and putting the words in his mouth; and every feeling of humanity was chased away by such absurd and frantic exclamations [5]. Some fraud and malignity undoubtedly

CHAP. V.

1693.

5 It is impossible to read these trials as they are reported by Cotton Mather and Neal, without being struck with the resemblance they exhibit to the proceedings in England on the trials of the persons accused of participation in the Popish Plot. In both cases, the grand engine of injustice and destruction was the passion of fear; a passion which, when strongly excited, is capable of producing the

BOOK II.

1693.

mixed with sincere misapprehension in stimulating these prosecutions. The principle that was practically enforced in the courts of justice, that in cases of witchcraft, accusation was equivalent to conviction, presented the most subtle and powerful allurements to the expression of natural ferocity, and the indulgence of fantastic terror and suspicion: and there is but too much reason to believe that rapacity, malice, and revenge were not vainly invited to seize this opportunity of satiating their appetites in confiscation and bloodshed. So strong meanwhile was the popular delusion, that even the detection of manifest perjury on one of the trials proved utterly insufficient to weaken the credit of the most unsupported accusation. Sir William Phipps the governor, and the most learned and eminent persons both among the clergy and laity of the province, partook and promoted the general infatuation. Nothing but an outrageous zeal against witchcraft seemed capable of assuring any individual of the safety of his life; and temptations that but too frequently overpowered human courage and virtue, arose from the conviction impressed on every person that he must make choice of the situation of the oppressed or the oppressor. The *afflicted* (as the accusers were termed) and their witnesses and partizans, began to form a numerous and united party in every community, which none dared to oppose, and which none who once joined or supported could forsake with impunity. A magistrate who had for some time taken an active part in examining and committing the supposed delinquents, beginning to suspect that these proceedings originated in some fatal mistake, showed an inclination to discourage them; and was instantly assailed with a

most enormous excesses of fury and cruelty. In both countries, a mixture of causes contributed to the production of the evil: but unquestionably there was a much greater degree of artifice employed to excite and maintain the popular panic in England than in America.

charge of witchcraft against himself. A constable who had apprehended many of the accused, was struck with a similar suspicion, and hastily declared that he would meddle in this matter no farther. Instantly aware of the danger he had provoked, he attempted to fly the country, but was overtaken in his flight by the vengeance of the accusers, and, having been brought back to Salem, was tried for witchcraft, convicted, and executed. Some persons whom self-preservation had induced to accuse their nearest relatives, being touched with remorse, proclaimed the wrong they had done, and retracted their testimony. They were convicted of relapse into witchcraft, and died the victims of their returning virtue.

CHAP. V.

1693.

The evil at length became too great to be borne. About fifteen months had elapsed since the malady had broke out, and so far from being extinguished or abated, it was growing every day more formidable. Of twenty-eight persons who had been capitally convicted, nineteen had been hanged[6]; and one, for refusing to plead, had been *pressed to death*:—the only instance in which this English legal barbarity was ever inflicted in North America. The number of the accusers and pardoned witnesses multiplied with alarming rapidity. The sons of Governor Bradstreet, and other individuals of eminent station and character, had fled from a charge belied by the whole tenor of their lives. An hundred and fifty persons were in prison on the same charge, and complaints against no less than two hundred others had been presented to the magistrates. Men began to

[6] This is nothing to the slaughter that was inflicted in the regular course of justice or injustice in England. Howell, in two letters, one dated February 3, 1646, the other February 20, 1647, says that in two years there were indicted in Suffolk and Essex between 200 and 300 witches, of whom more than half were executed. That this was accounted no very extraordinary number of executions in England, may be inferred from a variety of similar facts collected by Barrington, in his Observations on Stat. 20 Henry the Sixth.

BOOK II. 1693.

ask themselves, Where this would end? The constancy and piety with which the unfortunate victims had died, produced an impression on the minds of the people which, though counterbalanced at the time by the testimony of the pardoned witnesses, began to revive with the reflection that these witnesses had purchased their lives by their testimony, while the persons against whom they had borne evidence had sealed their own testimony with their blood. It was happy, perhaps, for the country, that while the minds of the people were awakening to reflections so favourable to returning moderation and humanity, some of the accusers carried the audacity of their arraignment to such a pitch, as to prefer charges of witchcraft against Lady Phipps, the governor's wife, and against some of the nearest relatives of Dr. Increase Mather, the most pious minister and popular citizen of Massachusetts. These charges at once opened the eyes of Sir William Phipps and Dr. Mather; so far, at least, as to induce a strong suspicion that many of the late proceedings had been rash and indefensible. They felt that they had dealt with others in a manner very different from that in which they were now reduced to desire that others should deal with them. The same sentiment also beginning to prevail in the public mind, a resolute and successful attempt was made by a respectable citizen of Boston to stem the fury of these terrible proscriptions. Having been charged with witchcraft by some persons at Andover, he anticipated an arrest by boldly arresting his accusers for defamation, and laid his damages at a thousand pounds. The effect of this vigorous proceeding surpassed his most sanguine expectations. It seemed as if a spell that had been cast over the people of Andover was dissolved by one bold touch; the frenzy vanished in a moment, and witchcraft was heard of in that town no more. The im-

pression was rapidly propagated throughout the province; and the effect of it was seen at the very next court that was held for the trial of witchcraft, when, of fifty prisoners who were tried on such evidence as had been formerly deemed sufficient, the accusers could obtain the conviction of no more than three, who were immediately reprieved by the governor. These acquittals were doubtless in part produced by a change which the public opinion underwent as to the sufficiency of what was denominated *spectral-evidence* of witchcraft. An assembly of the most eminent divines of the province, convoked for the purpose by the governor, had, after due consideration, given it forth as their deliberate judgment, "That the apparitions of persons afflicting others, was no proof of their being witches," and that it was by no means inconsistent with scripture or reason that the devil should assume the shape of a good man, or even cause the real aspect of that man to produce impressions of pain on the bodies of persons bewitched. The ministers, nevertheless, united in strongly recommending to the government the vigorous prosecution of all persons still accused of witchcraft. But the judgment they had pronounced respecting the validity of the customary evidence, rendered it almost impossible to procure a conviction, and produced, at the same time, so complete a revolution in the public mind respecting the late executions, that charges of witchcraft were found to excite no other sentiments than disgust and suspicion of the parties who preferred them. The cloud that had so deeply overcast the prosperity and happiness of the colony vanished entirely away, and universal shame and remorse succeeded to the frenzy that had lately prevailed. Even those who continued to believe in the reality of the diabolical influence of which the accusers had complained, were satisfied that most, if not all, of the unfortunate

CHAP. V. 1693. June 15.

BOOK II. 1693.

convicts had been unjustly condemned, and that their accusers, in charging them, had been deluded by the same agency by which their sufferings were occasioned. Many of the witnesses now came forward and published the most solemn recantations of the testimony they had formerly given, both against themselves and others; apologizing for their perjury by a protestation, of which all were constrained to admit the force, that no other means of saving their lives had been left to them. These testimonies were not able to shake the opinion which was still retained by a considerable party both among the late accusers and the public at large, that much witchcraft had mixed with the late malady, whether the real culprits had yet been detected or not. This opinion was supported in treatises written at the time by Dr. Mather and other eminent divines. But it was found impossible ever after to revive prosecutions that excited such painful remembrances, and had been so lamentably perverted. Sir William Phipps, soon after he had reprieved the three persons last convicted, ordered all who were in custody on charges of witchcraft to be released, and, in order to prevent the dissensions that might arise from the retributory proceedings against the accusers and their witnesses, he proclaimed a general pardon to all persons for any concernment they might have had with the prosecutions for witchcraft. The surviving victims of the delusion, however, and the relatives of those who had perished, were enabled to enjoy all the consolation they could derive from the sympathy of their countrymen and the earnest regret of their persecutors. The house of assembly appointed a general fast and prayer, "that God would pardon all the errors of his servants and people in a late tragedy raised among us by Satan and his instruments." One of the judges who had presided on the trials at Salem, stood

CHAP. V.

up in his place in church on this occasion, and implored the prayers of the people that the errors he had been guilty of might not be visited by the judgments of an avenging God on the country, his family, or himself. Many of the jurymen subscribed and published a declaration lamenting and condemning the delusion to which they had yielded, and acknowledging that they had brought the reproach of innocent blood on their native land. Mr. Paris, the clergyman who had instituted the first prosecutions, and promoted all the rest, found himself exposed to a resentment not loud or violent, but deep and general, and was at length universally shunned by his fellow citizens, and abandoned by his congregation. He appears, throughout the whole proceedings, to have acted with perfect sincerity, but to have been transported, by a vehement temper and a strong conviction of the rightfulness of the ends he pursued, into the adoption of means for their attainment, inconsistent with truth, honour, or justice. While the delusion lasted, his violence was applauded as zeal in a righteous cause, and little heed was given to accusations of artifice and partiality in conducting what was believed to be a controversy with the devil. But when it appeared that all these efforts had in reality been directed to the shedding of innocent blood, his popularity gave place to universal odium and disgust. Sensible, at length, how dreadfully erroneous his conduct had been, he hastened to make a public profession of repentance, and solemnly begged forgiveness of God and man. But the people declaring that they would never more attend the ministry of one who had been the instrument of misery and ruin to so many of their countrymen, he was obliged to resign his charge and depart from Salem [7].

1693.

1694.

7 Mather, B. ii. Life of Sir William Phipps. Increase Mather's Cases of Conscience concerning Evil Spirits. Neal, ii. 496—541. Hutchinson, ii. 17—

BOOK III.

1694.

Thus terminated a scene of delusion and cruelty that justly excited the astonishment of the civilized world, and had exhibited a fearful picture of the weakness of human nature in the sudden transformation of a people renowned over all the earth for piety and virtue, into the slaves or associates, the terrified dupes or helpless prey, of a band of ferocious lunatics and assassins. Among the various evil consequences that resulted from these events, not the least important was the effect they produced on the minds of the Indian tribes, who began to conceive a very unfavourable opinion of the people that could inflict such barbarities on their own countrymen, and the religion that seemed to arm the hands of its professors for their mutual destruction. This impression was the more disadvantageous to the colonists, as there had existed for some time a competition between their missionaries and the priests of the French settlements, for the instruction and conversion of the Indians[8]; and it was always found that the tribes embraced the political interests of that people whose

62. Calef's Wonders of the Invisible World. "I find these entries in the MS. Diary of Judge Sewell: 'Went to Salem, where, in the meeting-house, the persons accused of witchcraft were examined; a very great assembly. 'Twas awful to see how the afflicted persons were agitated.' But in the margin is written, in a tremulous hand, probably on a subsequent review, the lamenting Latin interjection, *Vae, vae, vae!*" Holmes, ii. 5, 6.

[8] It was a very depraved edition of Christianity that was preached to the Indians by the French priests—a system that harmonized perfectly well with the passions and sentiments which true Christianity most strongly condemns. It substituted the rites and superstitious inventions of the Romish church in the place of their ancient witchcraft and idolatry; and stigmatising their enemies as heretics, afforded additional sanction and incitement to hatred, fury, and cruelty. Neal has preserved (Vol. I. p. 266) a specimen of the French Missionary Catechism, containing a tissue of the most absurd and childish fictions gravely propounded as the articles of christian doctrine. The following anecdote is related by Governor Colden in his History of the Five Nations, Vol. I. p. 207. "About the time of the conclusion of the peace of Ryswick, Theronet, a noted Indian sachem, died at Montreal. The French gave him christian burial in a pompous manner: the priest that attended him at his death having declared that he died a true Christian. For (said the priest) while I explained to him the passion of our Saviour, whom the Jews crucified, he cried out, 'Oh! had I been there, I would have revenged his death, and brought away their scalps.'" The French priests who ministered amongst the Indians were Jesuits; and their maxim; that it was unnecessary to keep faith with heretics, proved but too congenial to the savage ethics of their pupils.

religious instructors were most popular among them. The French did not fail to improve to their own advantage, the odious spectacle that the late frenzy of the people of New England had exhibited; and to this end they laboured with such diligence and success, that in the following year, when Sir William Phipps paid a visit to the tribes with whom he had concluded the treaty of Pemmaquid, and endeavoured to unite them in a solid and lasting friendship with the colonists, he found them more firmly wedded than ever to the interests of the French, and under the dominion of prepossessions unfavourable in the highest degree to the formation of friendly relations with the English. To his proposition of renewing the treaty of peace, they agreed very readily; but all his instances to prevail with them to desist from their intercourse with the French, proved utterly unavailing. They refused to listen to the missionaries who accompanied him; having learned from the French priests to believe that the English were heretics, and enemies to the true religion of Christ. Some of them scrupled not to remark, that since they had received the instructions of the French, witchcraft had entirely disappeared from among them, and that they had no desire to revive it by communication with a people among whom it was reputed still to prevail more extensively than it had ever done with themselves [9].

CHAP. IV. 1694.

Every thing, indeed, betokened the renewal of hostilities between the colonists and the Indians, which accordingly broke out very soon after, and was perhaps accelerated by the departure of Sir William Phipps from New England. The administration of this governor, though in the main highly and justly popular, had not escaped a considerable degree of reproach. The discontents excited by the taxation

[9] Neal, ii. 539. 542, 3.

BOOK II.

1694. that had been imposed for the support of the fortification at Pemmaquid, concurring with the resentments and enmities that the prosecutions for witchcraft had left behind, produced a party in the province who laboured on every occasion to thwart the measures and traduce the character of the governor. Finding their exertions in Massachusetts insufficient to deprive him of the esteem of the great body of the people, these adversaries transmitted articles of impeachment against him to England, and petitioned the king and council for his recal and punishment. The king having declared that he would hear the cause himself, an order was transmitted to the governor to meet his accusers in the royal presence at Whitehall; in compliance

November. with which, Sir William set sail for England, carrying with him an address of the assembly expressive of the strongest attachment to his person, and beseeching the king that they might not be deprived of the services of so able and meritorious an officer. On his appearance at court his accusers vanished[1], and their charges were withdrawn; and having rendered a satisfactory account of his administration to the king, he was preparing to return to his government,

Feb. 1695. when a malignant fever put an end to his life. He

Death of Phipps. left behind him the reputation of a pious, upright, and honourable man. As a soldier, if not pre-eminently skilful, he was active and brave; as a civil ruler, faithful, magnanimous, and disinterested: it was remarked of him, as of Aristides, that *he was never seen the prouder for any honour that was done him by his countrymen;* and though the generous simplicity of his manners added lustre to the high rank he had attained, he was never ashamed to revert to the humility of the condition from which he had sprung. In the midst of a fleet that was conveying an arma-

[1] Hutchinson (ii. 84, 5) says that he was sued at London in an action of damages, but that it was withdrawn.

ment which he commanded on a military expedition, he called to him some young soldiers and sailors who were standing on the deck of his vessel, and pointing to a particular spot on the shore, said, "Young men, it was upon that hill that I kept sheep a few years ago;—and since you see that Almighty God has brought me to something, do you learn to fear God and be honest, and you don't know what you may come to[2]." 1695.

On the departure of Sir William Phipps, the supreme authority in Massachusetts devolved on Mr. Stoughton, the lieutenant-governor, who continued to exercise it during the three following years; the king being so much engrossed with his wars and negotiations on the continent of Europe, that it was not till after the peace of Ryswick that he found leisure even to nominate a successor to Sir William Phipps. During this period, the happiness of the people was much disturbed by internal dissension, and their prosperity invaded by the calamities of war. The passions bequeathed by the persecutions for witchcraft continued long to divide and agitate the people; and the factious opposition which they had promoted to the government of Sir William Phipps, continued to increase in vigour and virulence after his departure. The mutual animosities of the colonists had attained such a height, that they seemed to be ready to involve their country in a civil war; and the operations of the government were cramped and obstructed at the very time when the utmost vigour and unanimity were requisite to encounter the hostile enterprises of the French and the Indians. Incited by their French allies, the Indians recommenced the war with the usual suddenness and fury of their military operations. Wherever surprise or superior numbers enabled them to prevail

June. War with the French and Indians.

[2] Mather, B. ii. Life of Sir W. Phipps, and B. vii. Neal, ii. 543, 4.

BOOK II.

over parties of the colonists, or detached plantations, their victory was signalised by the extremities of barbarous cruelty.[3]

1695. Loss of Acadie.

The colony of Acadie, or Nova Scotia, now once more reverted to the dominion of France. It had been annexed, as we have seen, to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and governed hitherto by officers deputed from the seat of the supreme authority at Boston. But Port Royal (or Annapolis, as it was afterwards termed) having been now recaptured by a French armament, the whole settlement revolted, and re-annexed itself to the French dominions—a change that was ratified by the subsequent treaty of Ryswick. But a much more serious loss was sustained by Massachusetts in the following

1696. year; when, in consequence of a combined attack of the French and Indians, the fort erected by Sir William Phipps at Pemmaquid was compelled to surrender to their arms, and was levelled with the ground. This severe and unexpected blow excited the utmost dismay: and the alarming consciousness of the danger that might be apprehended from the loss of a barrier of

[3] Numerous cases are related by the colonial historians of the torture and slavery inflicted by the Indians on their captives, and of the desperate efforts of many of the colonists to defend themselves and their families, or to escape from the hands of their savage enemies. Wherever the Indians could penetrate, war was carried into the bosom of every family. The case of a Mrs. Dustan of Haverhill in Massachusetts is remarkable. She was made prisoner by a party of twelve Indians, and, with the infant of which she had been delivered but a week before, and the nurse who attended her, forced to accompany them on foot into the woods. Her infant's head was dashed to pieces on a tree before her eyes; and she and the nurse, after fatiguing marches in the depth of winter, found themselves at an Indian hut a hundred and fifty miles from their home. Here they were informed that they were to be made slaves for life, but were first to be conducted to a distant settlement, where they would be stripped, scourged, and forced to run the gauntlet naked between two files of the whole tribe to which their captors belonged. This intelligence determined Mrs. Dustan to make a desperate effort for her liberation. Early in the morning, having awaked her nurse and a young man, a fellow-prisoner, she got possession of an axe, and, with the assistance of the young man and the nurse, despatched no fewer than ten Indians in their sleep; the other two awoke and escaped. Mrs. Dustan returned in safety with her companions to Haverhill, and was liberally rewarded for her intrepidity by the legislature of Massachusetts.—Dwight's Travels.

Whatever other cruelties the Indians might exercise on the bodies of their captives, it is observable that they never attempted to violate the chastity of women, and that they respected modesty in so far as was consistent with the infliction of torture. Belknap, i. 287. They had a strong aversion to negroes, and generally killed them whenever they fell into their hands. 284.

such importance, rebuked in the strongest manner the factious discontent that had murmured at the expense of maintaining it. These apprehensions were but too well justified by the increased ravages of Indian warfare, and the increased insolence and fury with which this triumph inspired the Indian tribes. Mr. Stoughton and his council adopted the most vigorous measures to repair or retaliate the disaster, and despatched forces to attack the enemy both by land and sea; but miscarriage attended both these expeditions, and, at the close of the year, the colonial forces had been unable, by the slightest advantage, to check the assaults of the enemy, or to revive the drooping spirits of their countrymen. In the following year [4], the province, after being severely harassed by the incursions of the Indians, was alarmed by the intelligence of a formidable invasion which the French were preparing, with a view to its complete subjugation. The commander of a French squadron which was cruising on the northern coasts of America had concerted with the Count Frontignac, the governor of Quebec, a joint attack by sea and land, with the whole united force of the French and Indians on the colony of Massachusetts, and little doubt was entertained of the conquest of the people, or the complete destruction of their settlements. On the first intelligence of this design, the ancient spirit of New England seemed again to awake, and, partial animosities being swallowed up in a more generous passion, the people co-operated with the utmost vigour in the energetic measures by which Stoughton prepared to repel the coming danger. He caused the forts around Boston to be repaired, the whole militia

CHAP. V.

1696.

1697.

[4] In the midst of these troubles died this year the venerable Simon Bradstreet, the last survivor of the original planters, for many years governor, and termed by his countrymen the Nestor of New England. He died in his ninety-fifth year; earnestly desiring to be dissolved, and enter into the rest of God, insomuch (says Cotton Mather) that it seemed as if death were conferred upon him, instead of life being taken from him.

BOOK II.

of the province to be embodied and trained with the strictest discipline, and every other measure conducive to an effectual defence to be promptly adopted. In order to ascertain, and, if possible, anticipate the purposed operations of the enemy by land, he despatched a considerable force to scour the eastern frontiers of the province; and this body encountering a detachment of the Indians, who had assembled to join the French invaders, after a short engagement, gave them a complete defeat. This unexpected blow, though in itself of little importance, so deranged the plans of the French as to induce them to defer the invasion of Massachusetts by land till the following year; and the French admiral finding his fleet weakened by a storm, and apprised of the vigorous preparations for his reception, judged it prudent, in like manner, to abandon the projected naval invasion [5].

1697.

1698. Peace of Ryswick.

In the commencement of the following year, intelligence was received in America of the treaty of Ryswick, by which peace had been concluded between Britain and France. By this treaty it was agreed that the two contracting powers should mutually restore to each other all conquests that had been made during the war, and that commissioners should be appointed to examine and determine the rights and pretensions of either monarch to the territories situated in Hudson's Bay. The evil consequences of thus leaving the boundaries of growing settlements unascertained, were sensibly experienced at no distant date.

Count Frontignac, the governor of Canada, on receiving intelligence of this treaty, summoned the chiefs of the Indian tribes together, and informing them that he could no longer support them in hostili-

[5] Mather, B. vii. Neal, ii. 545—556. History of the British Dominions in North America, B. xiv. cap. 1.

ties against the English, advised them to deliver up their captives, and make the best terms for themselves that they could obtain. The government of Massachusetts, on receiving their pacific overtures, sent two commissioners to Penobscot to meet with their principal sachems, who endeavoured to apologise for their unprovoked hostilities by ascribing them to the artifice and instigation of the French jesuits. They expressed, at the same time, the highest esteem, and even a filial regard, for Count Frontignac, and an earnest desire that, in case of any future war between the French and English, the Indians might be permitted to observe a neutrality between the belligerent parties. After some conferences, a new treaty was concluded with them, in which they were made to acknowledge a more formal submission to the crown of England than they had ever before expressed. CHAP. V. 1698.

On the settlement of his affairs in Europe, the king at length found leisure to direct some portion of his attention to America, and nominate a successor to the office that had been vacant since the death of Sir William Phipps. The Earl of Bellamont was appointed governor of New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire: and, having selected the former of these places for his own personal residence, he continued the immediate administration of the others in the hands of Mr. Stoughton as deputy governor[6]. May.

Having traced the separate history of New England up to this period, we shall now leave this interesting province in the enjoyment (unhappily, too short-lived) of a peace, of which a long train of previous hostility and calamity had taught the inhabitants fully to appreciate the value. They were now more united than ever among themselves, and enriched with an ample stock of experience of both good and evil. When Lord Bellamont visited Massachu-

[6] Mather, B. vii. Neal, ii. 559—561. Belknap, i. cap. 11.

BOOK II.

1699.

setts in the following year, the recent heats and animosities had entirely subsided, and general harmony and tranquillity appeared to prevail. The virtue that had so signally distinguished the original settlers of New England was now seen to shine forth among their descendants with a lustre less dazzling, but with an influence in some respects more amiable, refined, and humane, than had attended its original display.

Moral and political state of New England.

One of the causes that undoubtedly contributed to the restoration of harmony, and the revival of piety among the people, was the publication, about this period, of various histories[7] of the New England commonwealth, written with a spirit and fidelity well calculated to commend to the minds of the colonists the just results of their national experience. The subject was deeply interesting; and, happily, the treatment of it was undertaken by writers whose principal object was to render this interest subservient to the promotion of piety and virtue. Though the colony might be considered as yet in its infancy, it had passed through a great variety of fortune. It had been the adopted country of many of the most excellent men of the age in which it arose, and the native land of others who had inherited the character of their ancestors, and transmitted it to their successors in unimpaired vigour, and with added renown. The history of man never exhibited an effort of more vigorous and enterprising virtue than the original migration of the puritans to this distant and desolate region; nor did the annals of colonization as yet supply more than one other instance of the foundation of a commonwealth, and its advancement through a period of weakness and danger, to

[7] Of these productions one of the earliest in point of composition was Governor Winthrop's Journal of Events in New England, from 1630 till 1644. But this journal was not published till the year 1790. The continuation of it till the year 1649, was not published till 1826.

strength and security, in which the principal actors had left behind them a reputation at once so illustrious and unsullied, with fewer memorials, calculated to pervert the moral sense, or awaken the regret of mankind. The relation of their achievements had a powerful tendency to excite hope, and animate perseverance; to impart courage to the virtuous, and to fortify the virtue of the brave. They could not indeed boast, like the founders of the settlement of Pennsylvania, that by a resolute profession of non-resistance of injuries, and a faithful adherence to that profession, they had so realized the Divine protection by an exclusive reliance on it, as to disarm the ferocity of barbarians, and conduct the establishment of their commonwealth without violence and bloodshed. But if they were involved in numerous wars, it was the singular and honourable characteristic of them all, that they were invariably the offspring of self-defence against the unprovoked malignity of their adversaries, and that not one of them was undertaken from motives of conquest or plunder. Though they considered these wars as necessary and justifiable, they deeply deplored them; and, more than once, the most distressing doubts were expressed, at the close of their hostilities, if it were lawful for Christians to carry even the rights of self-defence to such fatal extremity. They behaved to the Indian tribes with as much good faith and justice as they could have shown to a powerful and civilized people [8], and were incited by their inferiority to no other acts than a series of the most magnanimous and laudable endeavours to instruct their ignorance, and elevate their condition. If they fell short of the colonists of Pennsylvania in

[8] Not only were all the lands occupied by the colonists fairly purchased from their Indian owners, but, in some parts of the country, the lands were subject to quit-rents to the Indians, "which," says Belknap, in 1784, "are annually paid to their posterity." p. 74.

BOOK II.

the exhibition of christian meekness, they unquestionably excelled them in the extent and activity of christian labour. The quakers succeeded in disarming the Indians; the puritans laboured to convert them. The chief, if not the only fault, with which impartial history must ever reproach the conduct of these people, is the religious intolerance that they cherished, and the persecution which in more than one instance it prompted them to inflict. Happily for their own character, the provocation they received from the objects of their persecution, tended strongly to extenuate the blame; and happily, no less, for the legitimate influence of their character on the minds of their posterity, the fault itself, notwithstanding every extenuation, stood so manifestly contrasted and inconsistent with the very principles with which their own fame was for ever associated, that it was impossible for a writer of common integrity, not involved in the immediate heat of controversy, to render a just tribute to their excellence, without finding himself obliged to reprobate this signal departure from it. The histories that were now published were the composition of the friends, associates, and successors of the original colonists, and written with an energy of just encomium that elevated every man's ideas of his ancestors and his country, and of the duties which arose from these natural or patriotic relations, and excited universally a generous sympathy with the characters and sentiments of the fathers of New England. These writers, nevertheless, were too conscientious, and too enlightened, to confound the virtues with the defects of the character they described; and while they dwelt apologetically on the causes by which persecution had been provoked, they lamented the infirmity that (under any degree of provocation) had betrayed good men into so unchristian an ex-

tremity. Even Cotton Mather, the most encomiastic of the historians of New England, and who cherished very strong prejudices against the quakers and other persecuted sectaries, has expressed still stronger disapprobation of the severities they encountered from the objects of his encomium. These representations could not fail to produce a beneficial effect on the people of New England. They saw that the glory of their country was associated with principles that could never coalesce with or sanction intolerance; and that every instance of persecution with which their annals were stained, was a dereliction of these principles, and an impeachment of their country's cause. Inspired with the warmest attachment to the memory, and the highest respect for the virtue of their ancestors, they were powerfully reminded, by the errors into which they had fallen, to suspect and repress in themselves those infirmities from which even virtue of so high an order had been found to afford no exemption. From this time the religious zeal of the people of New England was no longer perverted by intolerance, or disgraced by persecution; and the influence of Christianity in mitigating enmity, and promoting kindness and indulgence, derived a freer scope from the growing conviction, that the principles of the gospel were utterly irreconcilable with violence and severity; that, revealing to every man his own corruption much more clearly than that of any other human being, they were equally adverse to confidence in himself and to suspicion of others; and that a deep sense of entire dependence on Divine aid, must ever be the surest indication of the acceptance of human purpose and the efficacy of human endeavour to subserve the Divine cause. Cotton Mather, who has recorded the errors of the first colonists, lived to witness the success of his

BOOK II.

representations in the charity and liberality of their descendants.[9]

New England having been colonised by men, not less eminent for learning than piety, was distinguished at a very early period by the labours of her scholars, and the dedication of her literature to the interests of religion. The theological works of Cotton, Hooker, the Mathers, and other New England divines, have always enjoyed a very high degree of esteem and popularity, not only in New England, but in every protestant country of Europe. The annals of the colony, and the biography of its founders and their immediate successors, were written by cotemporary historians with a minuteness which was very agreeable and interesting to the first generation of their readers, and to which they were prompted, in some measure at least, by the conviction they entertained that their country had been honoured with the signal favour and more especial guidance and direction of Providence. This conviction, while it naturally betrayed the writers into the fault of prolixity, enforced by the strongest sanctions the accuracy and fidelity of their narrations. Recording what they considered the peculiar dealings of God with a people peculiarly his own, they presumed not to disguise the infirmities of their countrymen; nor did they desire to magnify the Divine grace in the

[9] A discourse which he published some years after this period, contains the following passage—"In this capital city of Boston, there are ten assemblies of Christians of different persuasions, who live so lovingly and peaceably together, doing all the offices of neighbourhood for one another in such a manner, as may give a sensible rebuke to all the bigots of uniformity, and show them how consistent a variety of rites in religion may be with the tranquillity of human society; and may demonstrate to the world that persecution for conscientious dissents in religion is an *abomination of desolation*, a thing whereof all wise and just men will say, 'Cursed be its anger, for it is fierce; and its wrath, for it is cruel.'" Neal's Present State of New England, p. 611. The first episcopal society was formed in Massachusetts in 1686 (before the arrival of Andros); and the first episcopal chapel erected at Boston in 1688. Collections of the Mass. Hist. Soc. iii. 259. A quaker meeting-house was built at Boston in 1710. Ibid. 260.

infusion of human virtue, above the Divine patience in enduring human frailty and imperfection. The errors and failings of the illustrious men whose lives they related, gave additional weight to the impression which above all they desired to convey, that the colonization of New England was an extraordinary work of Heaven, that the counsel and the virtue by which it had been carried on were not of human origin, and that the glory of God had been displayed no less in imparting the strength and wisdom than in overruling the weakness and perversity of the instruments which he deigned to employ[1]. The most considerable of these historical works, and the most interesting performance that the literature of New England has ever produced, is the *Magnalia Christi Americana*, or History of New England, by Cotton Mather. The arrangement of this work is exceedingly faulty, and its vast bulk will ever continue to render its exterior increasingly repulsive to modern readers. The continuity of the narrative is frequently broken by the introduction of long discourses, epistles, and theological reflections and dissertations; biography is intermixed with history, and events of trifling or merely local interest related with intolerable prolixity. It is not so properly a single or continuous historical narration, as a collection of separate works illustrative of the various portions of New England history, under the heads of *Remarkable Providences*, *Remarkable Trials*, and numberless other subdivisions. A plentiful intermixture of puns, anagrams, and other barbarous conceits, exemplifies a peculiarity (the offspring, partly of bad

[1] "If we look on the dark side, the human side, of this work, there is much of human weakness and imperfection hath appeared in all that hath been done by man, as was acknowledged by our fathers before us. Neither was New England ever without some fatherly chastisements from God; showing that he is not fond of the formalities of any people upon earth, but expects the realities of practical godliness according to our profession and engagement unto him." Higginson's Attestation, prefixed to Cotton Mather's History.

BOOK II.

taste, and partly of superstition) that was very prevalent among the prose writers, and especially the theologians of that age. Notwithstanding these defects, the work will amply repay the labour of every reader. The biographical portions in particular possess the highest excellence, and are superior in dignity and interest to the compositions of Plutarch. Cotton Mather was the author of a great many other works[2], many of which have been highly popular and eminently useful. One of them bears the title of *Essays to do Good*, and contains a lively and forcible representation (conveyed with more than the author's usual brevity) of the opportunities which every rank and every relation of life will present to a devout mind, of promoting the glory of God and the good of mankind. The celebrated Dr. Franklin, in the latter years of his active and useful life, declared that all the good he had ever done to his country or his fellow-creatures, must be ascribed to the impression that had been produced on his mind by perusing that little work in his youth[3]. It is curious to find an infidel philosopher thus ascribe all his practical wisdom to the lessons of a christian divine, and trace the stream of his beneficence to the fountain of the gospel.

A traveller who visited Boston in the year 1686, mentions a number of booksellers there who had already made fortunes by their trade. The learned and ingenious author of the History of Printing in America has given a catalogue of the works published by the first New England printers in the seventeenth

[2] His biographers have given us a catalogue of his works, amounting to no fewer than *three hundred and eighty-two*—many no doubt of small dimensions, but others of considerable bulk, and some voluminous. He was a singular economist of time, and at once the most voluminous and popular writer, and the most zealous and active minister of his age. Above his study door was inscribed this impressive admonition to his visitors, "*Be short.*" He was the son of Dr. Increase Mather, born in 1663, and died in 1727.

[3] Franklin's Works, vol. iii. p. 478.

century. Considering the circumstances and numbers of the people, the catalogue is amazingly copious. One of the printers of that age was an Indian, the son of one of the first Indian converts [4].

The education and habits of the people of New England prepared them to receive the full force of those impressions which their national literature was calculated to produce. In no country have the benefits of knowledge been ever more highly prized or more generally diffused. Institutions for the education of youth were coeval with the foundation of the first colonial community, and were propagated with every accession to the population and every extension of the settlements. Education was facilitated in this province by the peculiar manner in which its colonization was conducted. In many other parts of America, the planters dispersed themselves over the face of the country; each residing on his own farm, and placing his house in the situation most conducive to his own convenience as a planter. The advantages resulting from this mode of inhabitation were gained at the expense of such dispersion of dwellings as obstructed the erection of churches and schools, and the enjoyment of social intercourse. But the colonization of New England was conducted in a manner much more favourable to the improvement of human character and the refinement of human manners. All the original townships were settled in what is termed the village manner [5]; the inhabitants having originally planted themselves in small communities, from regard to the ordinances of religion and the convenience of education. Every town containing fifty householders was obliged by law to provide a schoolmaster qualified to teach read-

[4] Dunton's Life and Errors, p. 127. Thomas's Hist. of Printing in America, p. 290.

[5] Dwight's Travels in New England, &c, vol. i. p. 300.

BOOK II.

ing and writing; and every town containing a hundred householders, to maintain a grammar school [6]. But the generous ardour of the people continually outstripped the provisions of this law. We have seen Harvard College established in Massachusetts but a few years after the foundation of the colony was laid. The other states, for some time after, were destitute of the wealth and population necessary to support similar establishments within their own territories; but they frequently assessed themselves in the most liberal contributions for the maintenance and enlargement of Harvard College. The contributions, even at a very early period, of Connecticut, Newhaven, and New Hampshire, have been particularly and deservedly noted for their liberality [7]. The close of the same century was illustrated by the establishment of Yale College in Connecticut. So high was the repute that the province long continued to enjoy for the excellency and efficiency of its seminaries of education, that many respectable persons, not only in the other American states, but even in Great Britain, sent their children to be educated in New England [8].

A general appetite for knowledge, and a universal familiarity with letters, was thus maintained from the beginning among the people of this province. The general discouragement of frivolous amusements, and of every recreation that bordered upon vice, tended to devote their leisure hours to reading; and the sentiments and opinions derived through this avenue of knowledge, sunk deeply into vigorous and undissipated minds. The historical retrospections of this people were peculiarly calculated to exercise a favourable influence on their character and turn of thinking,

[6] Abridgment of the Laws of New England. Neal, ii. 696.
[7] Trumbull, i. 147. 215. 291. Belknap, i. 117.
[8] History of the British Dominions in America, B. ii. cap. ii. sect. 10.

by awakening a generous emulation and connecting them with a uniform and progressive course of manly, patient, and successful virtue. CHAP. V.

Notwithstanding the general diffusion of knowledge among the people of New England, the lower classes were not entirely exempt from some of the prevalent delusions of the age. In particular, the notion, then generally received in the parent state, of the efficacy of the royal touch for the cure of the disorder called the king's evil, appears to have been imported into New England, to the great inconvenience of those who were so unhappy as to receive it. Belknap has transcribed from the records of the town of Portsmouth in New Hampshire, the petition of an inhabitant to the court of this province, in the year 1687, for assistance to undertake a journey to England, that he might be cured of his disease by coming in contact with a king[9]; a circumstance which Heaven (it may be hoped) has decreed should never be possible within the confines of North America.

The amount of the population of New England at this period has been very differently estimated by different writers. According to Sir William Petty, the number of inhabitants amounted, in the year 1691, to one hundred and fifty thousand[1]. A much lower computation is adopted by Neal[2]; and a much higher by a later historian[3]. The population, it is

[9] Belknap, i. Append. No. 46. The following advertisement occurs in the London Gazette of the 29th of May, 1682,—"These are to give notice that the weather growing warm, his majesty will not touch any more for the evil till towards Michaelmas. And his majesty's chirurgeons desire, *to prevent his majesty being defrauded*, that greater care be taken for the future in registering certificates given to such as come to be touched." After the Restoration, such multitudes flocked to the palace to be touched that a number of people were crushed to death. Evelyn's Journal, ii. 571. This superstition (which it is said that Cromwell vainly tried to attach to his own person) survived in England till the reign of Queen Anne, who touched (among others) the infant frame of Dr. Johnson.

[1] Political Arithmetic, p. 75. [2] Neal, ii. 601.

[3] Hist. of the British Dominions in North America, B. ii. cap. ii. sec. 9.

BOOK II.

certain, had been considerably augmented, both by the emigrations of dissenters from various of the European states, and by native propagation in circumstances so favourable to increase. Yet no quarter of North America has seen its own population so extensively drained by emigration as New England, which, from a very early period of its history, has never ceased to send swarms of hardy, industrious, and educated men to recruit and improve every successive settlement that has offered its resources to energy and virtue. The total restraint of licentious intercourse; the facility of acquiring property and maintaining a family; the discouragement of idleness and luxury; and the prevalence of industrious and frugal habits among all classes of people, concurred with powerful efficacy to render marriages both frequent and prolific in New England. Boston, the capital of Massachusetts, and the largest city in North America, appears to have contained a population of about 10,000 persons at the close of this century. In the year 1720, its inhabitants amounted to 20,000. Every inhabitant of the province was required by law to keep a stock of arms and ammunition in his house; and all males above sixteen years of age were enrolled in the militia, which was assembled for exercise four times every year[4].

The whole territory of New England was comprehended at this period in four jurisdictions, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. To Massachusetts there had been annexed the settlements of New Plymouth and Maine, and to Connecticut the settlement of Newhaven. The territories of these governments were divided into constituted districts called townships, each of which was represented by one or two deputies (according to the number of the freeholders) in the assembly of

[4] Neal, ii. 601, 602. 696.

the state. Besides this elective franchise, the freeholders of each township enjoyed the right of appointing the municipal officers denominated selectmen, by whom the local administration of the township was exercised. The qualification of a freeholder in Massachusetts was declared by its charter to be an estate of the value of forty shillings per annum, or the possession of personal property to the amount of fifty pounds; communion with the congregational churches having ceased for many years to be requisite to the enjoyment of political privileges. In the other states of New England, the qualification was at this period nearly the same as in Massachusetts. The expenses of government had been defrayed originally by temporary assessments, to which every man was rated according to the value of his whole property; but since the year 1645, excises, imposts, and poll taxes had been in use. The judicial proceedings in all the provincial courts were conducted with great expedition, cheapness, and simplicity of procedure[5].

Massachusetts and New Hampshire, the one enjoying a chartered, the other an unchartered jurisdiction, were the only two states of New England in which the superior officers of government were appointed by the crown, and from the tribunals of which an appeal was admitted to the king in council. As New Hampshire was too inconsiderable to support the substance as well as the title of a separate establishment, it was the practice at this period, and for some time after, to appoint the same person to be governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. In Connecticut and Rhode Island, all the officers of government (excepting the members of the court of admiralty) were elected by the inhabitants; and so resolutely was this highly-valued privilege asserted,

[5] Hist. of the British Dominions in North America, B. ii. cap. ii. § 10. Wynne's Hist. of British America, vol. i. p. 160.

BOOK II.

that when King William appointed Fletcher, the governor of New York, to command the Connecticut forces, the province refused to obey him[6]. The laws of these states were not subject to the negative, nor the judgments of their tribunals to the review, of the king. But the validity of their laws was declared to depend on a very uncertain criterion—a conformity, as close as circumstances would admit, to the jurisprudence of England[7]. So perfectly democratic were the constitutions of Connecticut and Rhode Island, that in neither of them was the governor suffered to exercise a negative on the resolutions of the assembly. The spirit of liberty was not suppressed in Massachusetts by the encroachments of royal prerogative on the ancient privileges of the people, but was vigorously exerted through the remaining and important organ of the provincial assembly. All the patronage that was vested in the royal governor was never able to create a royalist party in this state. The functionaries whom he appointed, depended on the popular assembly for the emoluments of their offices; and it was not till after many unsuccessful efforts, that the British government were able to free the governor himself from the same dependence, and to prevail with the assembly to annex a fixed salary to his office. The people and the popular authorities of Massachusetts were always ready to set an example to the other colonies of a determined resistance to the encroachments of royal prerogative.

In all the colonies, and especially in the New England states, there existed at this period, and for

[6] Wynne, i. 162. Trumbull, i. Cap. xvi. *Infra*, B. v. Cap. ii.

[7] There were no regular means of ascertaining this conformity; these states not being obliged, like Massachusetts, to transmit their laws to England. On a complaint from an inhabitant of Connecticut, aggrieved by the operation of a particular law, it was declared, by the king in council, "that their law concerning dividing land inheritance of an intestate was contrary to the law of England, and void;" but the colony paid no regard to this declaration. Hist. of the British Dominions in North America, B. ii. cap. iii. § 1.

CHAP. V.

a long time afterwards, a mixture of very opposite sentiments towards Great Britain. As the posterity of Englishmen, the colonists cherished a strong attachment to a land which they habitually termed the *Mother Country*, or *Home*[8], and to a people whom, though contemporaries with themselves, they regarded as occupying an ancestral relation to them. As Americans, their liberty and happiness, and even their national existence, were associated with escape from royal persecution in Britain; and the jealous and unfriendly sentiments engendered by this consideration were preserved more particularly in Massachusetts by the privation of the privileges which had originally belonged to it, and which Connecticut and Rhode Island were still permitted to enjoy, and maintained in every one of the states by the oppressive commercial policy which Great Britain pursued towards them, and of which their increasing resources rendered them increasingly sensible and proportionally impatient. The loyalty of Connecticut and Rhode Island was no way promoted by the preservation of their ancient charters—an advantage which they well knew had been conceded to them by the British government with the utmost reluctance, and of which numerous attempts to divest them by act of parliament, were made by King William and his immediate successors. Even the new charter of Massachusetts was not exempted from such attacks; and the defensive spirit that was thus excited and kept

[8] They have left one indestructible mark of their origin, and their kindly remembrance of it, in the British names which they transferred to American places. When New London in Connecticut was founded in the year 1648, the assembly of the province assigned its name by an act commencing with the following preamble: "Whereas it hath been the commendable practice of the inhabitants of all the colonies of these parts, that as this country hath its denomination from our dear native country of England, and thence is called New England; so the planters, in their first settling of most new plantations, have given names to these plantations of some cities and towns in England, thereby intending to keep up and leave to posterity the memorial of several places of note there," &c. "this court, considering that there hath yet no place in any of the colonies been named in memory of the city of London," &c. Trumbull, i. 170.

BOOK II.

alive by the aggressive policy of Britain contributed, no doubt, to influence, in a material degree, the future destinies of America.

In return for the articles which they required from Europe, and of which the English merchants monopolised the supply, the inhabitants of New England had no staple commodity which might not be obtained cheaper in Europe by their customers. They possessed, indeed, good mines of iron and copper, which might have been wrought with advantage; but they were restrained by the English legislature from manufacturing these metals either for home consumption or foreign exportation. The principal commodities exported from New England were the produce and refuse of their forests, or, as it was commonly termed, lumber, and the produce of their cod-fishery. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the annual imports into the provinces from England were estimated by Neal at £100,000. The exports by the English merchants consisted of a hundred thousand quintals (the quintal weighing 112 pounds) of dried cod-fish, which were sold in Europe for £80,000, and of three thousand tons of naval stores. To the other American plantations, New England sent lumber, fish and other provisions, to the amount of £50,000 annually. An extensive manufacture of linen cloth was established about this time in the province: this was an advantage for which New England was indebted to the migration of many thousands of Irish presbyterians to her shores about the beginning of the eighteenth century. Ship-building was from an early period carried on to a considerable extent at Boston and other sea-port towns. It was the practice of some merchants to freight their vessels as they built them, with cargoes of colonial produce, and to sell the vessels in the same ports in which the cargoes were

disposed of. A great part of the trade of the other colonies was conducted by the shipping of New England. At this period, and for many years afterwards, specie was so scarce in the province, that paper money formed almost exclusively the circulating medium in use among the inhabitants. Bills, or notes, were circulated for sums as low as half a crown[9].

The soil of a great part of the district of Maine was erroneously supposed, by its first European colonists, to be unfavourable to agriculture, and incapable of yielding a sufficient supply of bread to its inhabitants. This notion produced the deficiency which it presupposed; and, injurious as it was to the increase and prosperity of the inhabitants, it prevailed even till the period of the American revolution. Prior to that event, the inhabitants traded almost exclusively in lumber, and the greater part of the bread they consumed was imported from the middle colonies[1]. All the states of New England were long infested with wolves; and, at the close of the seventeenth century, laws were still enacted by the New England assemblies offering bounties for the destruction of these animals[2].

Except in Rhode Island, the doctrine and form of the congregational church that was established by the first colonists prevailed generally in the New England states. Every township was required by law to choose a minister, and to fix his salary by mutual agreement of the parties; in default of which a salary proportioned to the ability of the township was decreed to him by the justices of the peace. In case of the neglect of any township to appoint a minister within the period prescribed by the law, the right of appointment for the occasion devolved to the court

[9] Neal, ii. 601. 607, 608. Wynne, i. 168, 169.
[1] Sullivan's History of Maine, p. 43.
[2] Trumbull, i. 39. Ordinances of New England to the year 1700, Art. Wolves. Chalmers, 511.

BOOK II.

of quarter sessions. By a special custom of the town of Boston, the salaries of its ministers were derived from the voluntary contributions of their respective congregations, collected every Sunday on their assembling for divine service; and it was remarked, that none of the ministers of New England were so liberally provided for as those whose emoluments, unaided by legal provision, thus represented the success of their labours and the attachment or conscientiousness of their people[3]. In Rhode Island there was no legal provision for the observance of divine worship, or the maintenance of religious institutions. This colony was peopled by a mixed multitude of sectarians, who, having separated themselves from christian societies in other places, had continued in a broken and disunited state in their present habitation. In their political capacity, they admitted unbounded liberty of conscience, and disavowed all connexion between church and state. In their christian relations, they made no account of the virtue of mutual forbearance, and absolutely disowned the duty of submitting to one another on any point, whether essential or circumstantial. Few of them held regular assemblies for public worship; still fewer appear to have had stated places for such assemblage; and an aversion to every thing that savoured of *restraint* or *formality* prevailed among them all. Notwithstanding the unlimited toleration that was professedly established in this settlement, it appears that the government, in the year 1665, passed an ordinance to outlaw quakers and confiscate their estates, because they would not bear arms. But, the people, in general, resisted this regulation, and would not suffer it to be carried into effect[4]. Cotton Mather declares, that, in 1655, "Rhode Island colony was a colluvies

[3] Neal, ii. 612. 698.

[4] Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. v. p. 219.

of antinomians, famalists, anabaptists, antisabbatarians, Arminians, Socinians, quakers, ranters, and every thing but Roman catholics and true Christians; *bona terra, mala gens*[5]." In the town of Providence, which was included in this colony, and was inhabited by the descendants of those schismatics who had accompanied Roger Williams and Mrs. Hutchinson in their exile from Massachusetts, the aversion to all establishments and every sort of subordination was carried to such an extreme that, at this period, the inhabitants had neither magistrates nor ministers among them. They entertained an invincible aversion to all rates and taxes, as the inventions of men to support *hirelings*, by which opprobrious term they designated all magistrates and ministers who refused to serve them for nothing. Yet they lived in great amity with their neighbours, and, though every man did whatever seemed right in his own eyes, it was rarely that any crime was committed among them; "which may be attributed," says the historian from whom this testimony is derived, "to their great veneration for the Holy Scriptures, which they all read from the least to the greatest[6]." Massachusetts and Connecticut, as they were the most considerable of the New England states, in respect of wealth and population, so were they the most distinguished for piety, morality, and the cultivation and diffusion of

[5] B. vii. cap. 3.

[6] Neal, ii. 595, 596. We have an account of the religious condition of Rhode Island, about thirty years after this period, from the pen of the great and good Bishop Berkeley, who resided some years in this colony. A general indifference to religion, and a great relaxation of morality, had become the characteristics of the majority of the people. Several churches, however, some on the congregational, and others on the episcopal model, had been established; and through their instrumentality, the blessings of religion were yet preserved in the colony. Berkeley's Work, vol. ii. p. 455, 456.

So late as the beginning of the nineteenth century, the legislature of Rhode Island discouraged the project of a turnpike road, alleging that turnpike duties and ecclesiastical establishments were *English practices*, and badges of slavery, from which their people were distinguished over all the other Americans by a happy exemption. It was not till the year 1805 that the advantages of turnpike roads prevailed over the imaginary dignity of this exemption. Dwight, vol. ii. Letter 52.

BOOK II. knowledge. At the close of the seventeenth century there were an hundred religious assemblies in Massachusetts, exclusive of the numerous congregations of christian Indians[7]. The censorial discipline exercised by those societies over their members was eminently conducive to the preservation of good morals; and the efficacy of this and of every other incitement to virtue was enhanced by the thinly peopled state of the country, where none could screen his character or pursuits from the observation of the public eye.

Perhaps no country in the world was ever more distinguished than New England was at this time for the general prevalence of those sentiments and habits that render communities respectable and happy. Sobriety and industry pervaded all classes of the inhabitants. The laws against immoralities of every description were remarkably strict, and not less strictly executed[8]; and, being cordially supported by public opinion, they were able to render every vicious and profligate excess equally dangerous and infamous to the perpetrator. We are assured by a respectable writer, that at this period there was not a single beggar in the whole province[9]. Labour was so valuable, land so cheap, and the elective franchise so extensive, that every industrious man might acquire a stake in the soil, and a voice in the civil administration of his country. The general diffusion of

[7] Neal, ii. 608.

[8] Josselyn, who visited New England, for the first time in 1638, relates, that in the *village* of Boston there were then two licensed inns. "An officer visits them," he adds, "whenever a stranger goes into them; and if he calls for more drink than the officer thinks in his judgment he can soberly bear away, he countermands it, and appoints the proportion, beyond which he cannot get one drop." Josselyn's Voyage, 173. In 1694, the select men of Massachusetts were ordered to hang up in every alehouse lists of all *reputed* tipplers and drunkards within their districts; and alehouse keepers were forbidden to supply liquor to any person whose name was thus posted. Holmes, ii. 18. The magistrates of some of the towns of Scotland appear to have exercised similar acts of authority. An instance occurred in the town of Rutherglen in 1668. Ure's Hist. of Rutherglen, p. 71.

[9] Neal, ii. 612, 613.

education caused the national advantages which were thus vigorously improved to be justly appreciated; and an ardent and enlightened patriotism knit the hearts of the people to each other and to their country.

The state of society in New England, the circumstances and habits of the people, tended to form, among their leading men, a character more useful than brilliant;—not (as some have imagined) to discourage talent, but to repress its vain display, and train it to its legitimate and respectable end, of giving efficacy to wisdom and virtue. Yet this state of society was by no means inconsistent either with refinement of manners or with innocent hilarity. Lord Bellamont was agreeably surprised with the graceful and courteous demeanour of the gentlemen and clergy of Connecticut, and confessed that he found the aspect and address that were thought peculiar to nobility, in a land where this aristocratical distinction was unknown[1]. From Dunton's account of his residence in Boston in 1686, it appears that the inhabitants of Massachusetts were at that time distinguished in a very high degree by the cheerfulness of their manners, their hospitality, and a courtesy the more estimable that it was indicative of real benevolence[2].

In the historical and statistical accounts of the various states[3], we continually meet with instances of the beneficial influence exercised by superior minds on the virtue, industry, and happiness of particular districts and communities. In no country has the ascendency of talent been greater, or more advantageously exerted. The dangers of Indian invasion were encountered and repelled; the dejection and

[1] Trumbull, i. 396. Dwight's Travels in New England, *passim*.

[2] Dunton's Life and Errors, Stage iv. Dunton, who had sat at good men's feasts in London, was yet struck with the plenty and elegance of the entertainments he witnessed in Boston.

[3] See, in particular, the Histories of Trumbull and Belknap, and the Travels of Dwight, *passim*.

BOOK II.

timidity produced by them, overcome; the feuds and contentions arising among settlers of various countries, habits, and opinions, composed; the temptations to slothful and degenerate modes of living, resisted; the self-denial requisite to the endowment of institutions for preaching the gospel and the education of youth, resolutely practised. In founding and conducting to maturity the settlements that from time to time extended themselves over the surface of the province, men of talent and virtue enjoyed a noble and arduous sphere of employment. They taught by action and example. They distinguished themselves from the rest of mankind by excelling them in their ordinary pursuits, and thinking better than they on the ordinary subjects of reflection and consideration. The impression they produced, if circumscribed in its limits, was intense in its efficacy: the fame they achieved, if neither noisy nor glaring, was lasting and refined. They propagated their own moral likeness around them, and rendered their wisdom and spirit immortal by engrafting their own character on the minds of their fellow citizens. Mankind are more apt to copy characters than to practise precepts; and virtue is much more effectually recommended to their imitation and esteem by the life of zeal than by the weight of argument. Let the votaries of Fame remember that if a life thus spent circumscribe the diffusion of the patriot's name, it seems to enlarge his very being, and extend it to distant generations; and that if posthumous fame be any thing more than a splendid illusion, it is such distinction as this, from which the surest and most lasting satisfaction will be derived.

The esteem of the community was considered so valuable a part of the emoluments of office, that the salaries of all public officers, except those who were appointed by the crown, were, if not scanty, yet

exceedingly moderate. In Connecticut, it was remarked, that the whole annual expenses of its public institutions (about £800) did not amount to the salary of a royal governor[4]. The slender emoluments of public offices, and the tenure of popular pleasure by which they were held, tended very much to exempt the offices from the pretensions of unworthy candidates, and the officers from calumny and envy. Virtue and ability were fairly appreciated; and we frequently find the same men re-elected for a long series of years to the same offices, and on some occasions succeeded by their sons, where inheritance of merit recommended inheritance of place[5]. In more than one of the settlements, the first codes of law were the compositions of single persons; the people desiring an eminent leader to compose for them a body of law, and then legislating unanimously in conformity with his suggestions.

The most lasting, if not the most serious, evil with which New England has been afflicted, is the institution of slavery, which continued till a late period to pollute all its provinces, and even now lingers, though to a very slight extent, in the province of New Hampshire[6]. The practice, as we have seen, originated in the supposed necessity created by the Indian hostilities; but, once introduced, it was fatally calculated to perpetuate itself, and to derive accessions from various other sources. For some time, indeed, this was successfully resisted; and instances

4 Trumbull, i. 452.

5 I had intended here to have subjoined a list (extracted from the New England journals) of persons in whose families the government of particular states and towns has been vested, with the consent of their fellow citizens, for considerable periods of time. But I find the list too long for insertion.

6 The assembly of this province, as early as the reign of George the First, passed a law, enacting, that "if any man smite out the eye or tooth of his man or maid servant, or otherwise maim or disfigure them, he shall let him or her go free from his service, and shall allow such further recompense as the court of quarter sessions shall adjudge;" and that "if any person kill his Indian or negro servant, he shall be punished with death." The slaves in this province are said to have been treated in all respects like white servants. Warden's United States, i. 398.

BOOK II.

have been recorded of judicial interposition to restrain the evil within its original limits. In the year 1645, a negro fraudulently brought from Africa, and enslaved within the New England territory, was liberated and sent home by the general court[7]. There was never any law expressly authorising slavery; and such was the influence of religious and moral feeling in New England, that, even while there was no law prohibiting its continuance, it was never able to prevail to any considerable extent. In the year 1704, the assembly of Massachusetts imposed a duty of £4 on every negro imported into the province; and eight years after, passed an act prohibiting the importation of any more Indian servants or slaves[8]. In Massachusetts, the slaves never exceeded the fiftieth part of the whole population; in Connecticut and Rhode Island, when slaves were most numerous (in the middle of the eighteenth century), the proportion was nearly the same; and in the territory that afterwards received the name of Vermont, when the number of inhabitants amounted to nearly nine thousand, there were only sixteen persons in a state of slavery[9]. The cruelties and vices that slavery tends to engender were repressed at once by this great preponderance of the sound over the unhealthy part of the body politic, and by the circumstances to which this preponderance was owing. The majority of the inhabitants were decidedly hostile to slavery; and numerous remonstrances were addressed to the British government against the encouragement she afforded to it by maintaining the slave trade[1]. When America effected her

[7] Belknap, i. 75. [8] Holmes, ii. 52. 72.

[9] Warden, i. 299, 300. 463. ii. 9. Winterbotham's America, ii. 51. Dwight's New England, iv. 236.

[1] Very different in this respect were (at one period) the conduct and sentiments of the Portuguese government and the colonists of Brazil, where the royal authority was endangered by the endeavours of the crown to second the policy of the jesuits for extirpating or mitigating the evils of Indian and negro slavery. See Southey's History of Brazil, Part ii.

independence, the New England states (with the single exception of New Hampshire) adopted measures which, in the course of a few years, abolished every trace of this vile institution. In New Hampshire, it seems to have been rather a preposterous regard for liberty, and the sacredness of existing possessions, than a predilection for slavery, that prevented this practice from being formally abolished by the principles by which it has been essentially modified and substantially condemned [2].

[2] There is a strange, I hope not a disingenuous, indistinctness in the statements of some writers respecting the negro slavery of New England. Winterbotham, writing in 1795, asserts, that "there are no slaves in Massachusetts." If he meant that a law had been passed which denounced, and was gradually extinguishing slavery, he was right; but the literal sense of his words is contradicted by Warden's Tables, which demonstrate that fifteen years after (the law not yet having produced its full effect) there were several thousand slaves in Massachusetts. Dwight relates his travels, in the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century, through every part of New England, without giving us the slightest reason to suppose that such beings as slaves existed in any one of its states, except when he stops to defend the legislature of Connecticut from an imputation on the manner in which her share of the abolition had been conducted. Warden himself says, in one page, that "slavery no longer exists in New England," even while, in another, he indicates and seeks to palliate the occurrence of its *extrema vestigia* in New Hampshire.

NOTES TO THE FIRST VOLUME.

NOTE I. Page 22.

The important instruction, both moral and political, which may be derived from a consideration of the origin of the Slave Trade, is forcibly depicted by that distinguished philanthropist (Thomas Clarkson), whose virtue promoted, and whose genius has recorded, the abolition of this detestable traffic. It is a remarkable fact, that the pious and benevolent Las Casas, actuated by a vehement desire to emancipate the feeble nations of South America from the bondage of the Spanish colonists, was the first person who proposed to the government of Spain the importation of negroes from Africa to America. His proposition was rejected by Cardinal Ximenes, who considered it unlawful to consign innocent people to slavery at all, and was, moreover, struck with the inconsistency of delivering the inhabitants of one country from a state of misery, by inflicting it upon the inhabitants of another. "After the death of Cardinal Ximenes, the Emperor Charles the Fifth encouraged the slave trade. In 1517, he granted a patent to one of his Flemish favourites, containing an exclusive right of importing four thousand Africans into America. But he lived long enough to repent of what he had thus inconsiderately done. For in the year 1542, he made a code of laws for the better protection of the unfortunate Indians in his foreign dominions; and he stopped the progress of African slavery by an order that all slaves in his American islands should be made free." This order was subsequently defeated by his own retirement into a monastery; but "it shows he had been ignorant of what he was doing, when he gave his sanction to this cruel trade. It shows, when legislators give one set of men an undue power over another, how quickly they abuse it; or he never

would have found himself obliged, in the short space of twenty-five years, to undo that which he had countenanced as a great state measure. And while it confirms the former lesson to statesmen, of watching the beginnings or principles of things, in their political movements, it should teach them never to persist in the support of evils, through the false shame of being obliged to confess that they had once given them their sanction; nor to delay the cure of them, because, politically speaking, neither this nor that is the proper season; but to do them away instantly, as there can be only one fit or proper time in the eye of religion, namely, on the conviction of their existence." Clarkson's *History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, vol. i. p. 36—38.

Louis the Thirteenth of France was at first staggered by the same scruples of conscience that prevailed with Charles, and could not be persuaded to authorise the slave trade till he had been made to believe that the readiest way of converting the negroes was by transporting them to the colonies.—Ibid. 41, 42.

NOTE II. Page 66.

Captain Smith appears to have been so obnoxious to the leading patentees, that, even if he had remained in the colony, it is highly improbable they would ever have intrusted him with any authority. They neither rewarded nor re-employed him after his return to England. They were bent on deriving immediate supplies of gold or rich merchandize from the colony, and ascribed their disappointment in a great measure to his having restricted his views to the establishment of a solid and respectable frame of society. This is apparent from many passages of his writings, and particularly from his letter to the patentees while he held the presidency.—B. III. cap. vii. An honester but absurder reason, that appears to have prevailed with some of them to oppose his pretensions to office, was, that certain fortune-tellers had predicted that he would be unlucky; a prediction that sometimes contributes to its own fulfilment. —B. VI.

In various parts of his History, he applies himself to refute their unreasonable charges, and account for the disappointment of their expectations. For this purpose he has drawn a parallel between the circumstances of the Spanish and the English colonists of America. "It was the Spaniards' good hap," he observes, "to happen in those parts where were infinite numbers of people, who had manured the ground with that providence it afforded victuals at all

times. And time had brought them to that perfection, that they had the use of gold and silver, and the most of such commodities as those countries afforded: so that what the Spaniard got was chiefly the spoil and pillage of those country people, and not the labours of their own hands. But had these fruitful countries been as savage, as barbarous, as ill peopled, as little planted, laboured, and manured, as Virginia, their proper labours, it is likely, would have produced as small profit as ours. And had Virginia been peopled, planted, manured, and adorned with such store of precious jewels and rich commodities as were the Indies; then, had we not gotten and done as much as, by their examples, might be expected from us, the world might then have traduced us and our merits, and have made shame and infamy our recompense and reward."—B. III. cap. ix.

Were we to confine our attention to the seeming import of this isolated passage, it would be difficult not to suppose that this excellent person was deterred less by want of inclination than lack of opportunity, from imitating the robberies and enormities of the Spanish adventurers. But the general context of his book, as well as the more credible evidence derived from the whole scope and tenour of his life, would amply refute the unjust supposition. That he was utterly unacquainted with the enormities committed by the Spaniards in Mexico and Peru, may be collected from the praises he bestows on their exploits, and from his appealing to the glory of these exploits as an incentive that should stimulate the ardour of the English to the prosecution of laborious virtue, and humble but honest emolument in North America. Thus nobly we find him expressing the sentiments of a mind which the condition of humanity did not exempt from being deceived, but which piety preserved from being depraved or perverted, "Who can desire more content that hath small means or but only his merit, to advance his fortunes, than to tread and plant that ground he hath purchased by the hazard of his life; if he have but the taste of virtue and magnanimity, what to such a mind can be more pleasant than planting and building a foundation for his posterity, got from the rude earth by God's blessing and his own industry, without prejudice to any; if he have any grain of faith or zeal in religion, what can he do less hurtful to any, or more agreeable to God, than to seek to convert those poor savages to know Christ and humanity, whose labours with discretion will triple thy charge and pains? What so truly suits with honour and honesty as the discovering things unknown, erecting towns, peopling countries, informing the ignorant, reforming things unjust,

teaching virtue, and gaining to our mother country a kingdom to attend her; finding employment for those that are idle because they know not what to do; so far from wronging any, as to cause posterity to remember thee, and remembering thee, ever honour that remembrance with praise?" It is probably such expressions as these that have led certain writers to charge Smith with *enthusiasm*—a term by which some persons denote every elevation of view and tone that religion imparts, and by which many others designate every quality and sentiment that they feel to be above the pitch of their own nature.

Smith proceeds as follows: "Then who would live at home idly, or think in himself any worth to live, only to eat, drink, and sleep, and so die; or consuming that carelessly his friends got worthily, or using that miserably that maintained virtue honestly; or being descended nobly, pine with the vain vaunt of great kindred in penury; or, to maintain a silly show of bravery, toil out thy heart, soul, and time basely, by shifts, tricks, cards, and dice; or by relating news of other men's actions, shark here and there for a dinner or supper," &c. "though thou seest what honours and rewards the world yet hath for them that will seek them, and worthily deserve them."—B. VI. He adds shortly after, "It would be a history of a large volume, to recite the adventures of the Spaniards and Portugals, their affronts and defeats, their dangers and miseries, which, with such incomparable honour and constant resolution, so far beyond belief, they have attempted and endured, in their discoveries and plantations, as may well condemn us of too much imbecility, sloth, and negligence. Yet the authors of these new inventions were held as ridiculous for a long time, as now are others that but seek to imitate their unparalleled virtues."

I should contend neither wisely nor honestly for the fame of Captain Smith, were I to represent him as a faultless character, perfectly unclothed of the imperfections of humanity. The sufferings of others have been known to provoke him to an intemperance at least of expression which none of his own trials and provocations ever excited, and which none of his actions ever realized. Indignant at the dreadful massacre of the Virginian colonists in 1622, long after he had left them, he pronounced in haste and anger that the colony could not be preserved without subduing or expelling the Indians, and punishing their perfidious cruelty as the Spaniards had punished "the treacherous and rebellious infidels" in South America.—B. IV. These expressions afford a farther proof of the very imperfect acquaintance he had with the real circumstances that attended the

subjugation of South America by the Spaniards. "Notwithstanding such a stern and invincible resolution as Captain Smith displayed," says an intelligent historian of Virginia, "there was seldom seen a milder and more tender heart than his was." Stith, p. 112.

He expatiates at great length, and with much spirit and ability, on the advantages of colonial establishments in America; and displays a variety of inducements to embark in them, appropriate to the various classes of society in England. Colonies he describes as schools for maintaining the hardy virtues on which the safety of every state must depend. He ascribes the fall of Rome, and the subjugation of Constantinople, to the indolence and covetousness of the rich, who not only passed their own lives in slothful indulgence, but retained the poor in factious idleness, by neglecting to provide them with safe and useful employment; and strongly urges the wealthy capitalists of England to provide for their own security, by facilitating every foreign vent to the energies of active and indigent men. He enlarges on the pleasures incident to a planter's life, and enforces his description by the testimony of his own experience. "I have not been so ill-bred," he declares, "but I have tasted of plenty and pleasure, as well as want and misery. And lest any should think the toil might be insupportable, I assure myself there are who delight extremely in vain pleasure, that take much more pains in England to enjoy it, than I should do there to gain wealth sufficient; and yet I think they should not have half such sweet content." B. VI. To gentlemen he proposes, among other inducements, the pleasures of fishing, fowling, and hunting, to an unbounded extent; and to labourers, the blessings of a vacant soil, of unequalled cheapness and unsurpassed fertility. He promises no mines to tempt sordid avarice, nor conquests to allure profligate ambition; but the advantages of a temperate clime, and of a secure and exhaustless subsistence; the wealth that agriculture may extract from the land, and fisheries from the sea. "Therefore," he concludes, "honourable and worthy countrymen, let not the meanness of the word Fish distaste you, for it will afford as good gold as the mines of Guiana or Potosi, with less hazard and charge, and more certainty and facility."

I have given but a very general outline of Smith's exposition of this subject. The details with which he has filled it up are highly interesting, and well deserving of perusal. I think there can be no doubt that he has treated the subject of colonization with more both of the skill of a politician and the profound sagacity of a philosopher, than Lord Bacon has shown in either or both of his productions, the "Essay

on Plantations," and the "Considerations touching the Plantation in Ireland."

The name of Smith has not yet gathered all its fame. The lustre it once possessed is somewhat obscured by time, and by the circumstances that left America so long to depend on England for the sentiments and opinions that literature preserves or produces, and consequently led her to rate her eminent men rather by the importance of their achievements in the scale of British than of American history. But I think I can foresee its revival. It will grow with the growth of men and letters in America; and whole nations of its admirers have yet to be born. As the stream becomes more illustrious, the springs will become more interesting. Romulus, I doubt not, was an object of greater interest in the Augustan æra than in the preceding ages of Rome. The age of Smith's fame has in like manner yet to come; an age when there will be inscribed by the Americans, on tablets more lasting than Carthaginian gold,

> "Fortia facta patrum, series longissima rerum,
> Per tot ducta viros prima ab origine gentis;"

and he will then be thought as far to excel Romulus in true glory, as America has excelled, and is yet likely to excel, old Rome in happiness and virtue.

He was born in the year 1579, and died on the 21st of June, 1631.

Nothing can be more erroneous or unjust than Winterbotham's Chronological Catalogue of the American States, in which Lord Delaware is recorded as the founder of Virginia. If this honour belong to any individual, it is to Captain Smith.

NOTE III. Page 71.

The history of Lord Delaware's government, and the more recent example of the settlement formed by Lord Selkirk in Prince Edward's Island, demonstrate very strongly the beneficial influence to which noblemen may render their rank subservient, in the promotion and support of such establishments. The mass of mankind bear very little resemblance to the original colonists of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. They are utterly incapable of appreciating superior piety, and yield (especially in small bodies) a very reluctant deference to the pretensions of superior wisdom and ability. The claims of superior birth and hereditary elevation have the advantage of being more certain and manifest, more adapted to their habits, and less offensive to their self-complacency. Lord Bacon observes, that plant-

ations are most frequent in the earlier stages of society; that is, in the period when superior birth, united (as it then commonly is) with a monopoly of the little knowledge that exists, exercises the strongest influence on mankind. The colony conducted by Lord Selkirk to Prince Edward's Island consisted of Highlanders, a race of men peculiarly distinguished by, what Burke has termed, "the proud submission and generous loyalty to rank." When their countrymen in the Hebrides beheld Dr. Johnson, they made little account of the intellectual superiority which had gained him a sort of monarchical influence in England; but desiring to know what were his claims to respect, inquired of him if he could recount a long genealogy.

NOTE IV. P. 72.

The surprising errors that Robertson has committed in his account of Sir Thomas Dale's administration may well seem to detract, in no small degree, from the credit of history. He not only imputes to the Company the enactment and introduction of the arbitrary code transmitted by Sir Thomas Smith, but unfolds at length the (imaginary) reasons that prevailed with them to adopt a measure so harsh and sanguinary; though of this measure itself they are expressly acquitted by Stith, the only authority on the subject that exists, and the very authority to which Robertson himself refers. Among the other reasons which he assigns, is the advice of Lord Bacon, which he unhesitatingly charges this eminent person with having communicated, and the Company with having eagerly approved. In support of a charge so decided and so remarkable, he refers merely to a passage in Lord Bacon's *Essay on Plantations*. It would be well for the fame of Bacon if all the charges with which his character is loaded were supported by such evidence. For *supposing* (which is doubtful) that this essay was published before the collection of Sir Thomas Smith's system of martial law, and *supposing* it to have been read by the compiler of that system, it is surely more than doubtful if the passage alluded to would yet support Dr. Robertson's imputation. It merely recommends that a colonial government should "have commission to exercise martial laws, with some limitation:" a power inseparable from such, and indeed from every system of government. The twenty-fourth section of King James's second charter to the Company had already invested the colonial governors with "full power and authority to use and exercise martial law, in cases of mutiny or

rebellion;" and the preceding section of the same charter authorizes them, "in case of necessity," to rule, correct, and punish, according to their own "good discretions." No blame can attach to the bare authorization of an extraordinary power, reserved in every society, for extraordinary occasions. What alone seems deserving of blame is Sir Thomas Smith's violent and illegal substitution of the most sanguinary code of martial law that was ever framed, in the room of the former constitution, and for the purposes of the ordinary administration of the colony; and Dr. Robertson's very hasty and unfounded imputation of this proceeding to the act of the Council and the advice of Lord Bacon. It had been well if the Council had paid more attention to the maxim of this great man, that "those who plant colonies must be endued with great patience."

The inaccuracy and misrepresentation in which Dr. Robertson has indulged, in his history of South America, has been detected by Mr. Southey, and exposed in the History of Brazil, Part I. note 58.

NOTE V. P. 233.

Chalmers and Robertson have imputed the slow increase of the colonists of New Plymouth to "the unsocial character of their religious confederacy." As the charge of entertaining anti-social principles was preferred against the first Christians by men who plumed themselves on exercising *hospitality to the gods of all nations*, it is necessary to ascertain the precise meaning of this imputation, if we would know whether it be praise or blame that it involves. Whether, in a truly blameworthy acceptation, the charge of unsocial principles most properly belongs to these people or to their adversaries, may be collected from the statements they have respectively made of the terms on which they were willing to hold a companionable intercourse with their fellow men. Mr. Winslow, who was for some time governor of New Plymouth, in his account of the colony declares that the faith of the people was in all respects the same with that of the reformed churches of Europe, from which they differed only in their opinion of church government, wherein they pursued a more thorough reformation. They disclaimed, however, any uncharitable separation from those with whom they differed on this point, and freely admitted the members of every reformed church to communion with them. "We ever placed," he continues, "a large difference between those that grounded their practice on the word

of God, though differing from us in the exposition and understanding of it, and those that hated such reformers and reformation, and went on in antichristian opposition to it, and persecution of it. It is true we profess and desire to practise a separation from the world and the works of the world; and as the churches of Christ are all saints by calling, so we desire to see the grace of God shining forth (at least seemingly, leaving secret things to God) in all we admit into church fellowship with us, and to keep off such as openly wallow in the mire of their sins, that neither the holy things of God nor the communion of saints may be leavened or polluted thereby." He adds, that none of the new settlers who are admitted into the church of New Plymouth are encouraged, or even permitted, to insert in the declaration of their faith a renunciation of the Church of England or any other reformed establishment (Mather, B. I. cap. iii.). It does not appear to me that these sentiments warrant the charge of unsocial principles in any sense which a Christian will feel himself at all concerned to disclaim. Whether the adversaries of these men were distinguished for principles more honourably social or more eminently charitable, may be gathered from a passage in Howel's Familiar Letters, where this defender of church and state thus expresses the sentiments of his party respecting religious differences between mankind. "I rather pity than hate Turk or infidel, for they are of the same metal and bear the same stamp as I do, though the inscriptions differ. If I hate any, it is those schismatics that puzzle the sweet peace of our church; so that I could be content to see an Anabaptist go to hell on a Brownist's back" (vol. i. let. 31). The policy of the ecclesiastical administration of England gave a premium to the production of such sentiments. Howel's fervour for the church party did not survive the power of that party to reward him. After the fall of the English church and monarchy, he became the defender and panegyrist of the administration of Cromwell; though, like Waller and Dryden, he returned in the train of Fortune, when she returned to his original friends.

NOTE VI. P. 275.

The introduction of this feature into the portrait of Sir Henry Vane rests entirely on the authority of Burnet and Kennet (followed by Hume), who speak from hearsay. Ludlow, who knew Vane personally, bestows the highest praise on his imperturbable serenity and presence of mind;

and, with the glowing sympathy of a kindred spirit, describes the resolute magnanimity with which at his trial he sealed his own fate by scorning to plead, like Lambert, for his life, and gallantly pleading for the dying liberties of his country. At his execution, when some of his friends expressed resentment of the injuries that were heaped upon him, "Alas!" said he, "what ado they keep to make a poor creature like his Saviour. I bless the Lord I am so far from being affrighted at death, that I find it rather shrink from me than I from it. Ten thousand deaths for me, before I will defile the chastity and purity of my conscience; nor would I for ten thousand worlds part with the peace and satisfaction I have now in my heart." — Even Burnet admits that the resolution he summoned up at the last prompted him "to some very extraordinary acts, though they cannot be mentioned." Oldmixon, less scrupulous, has satisfied the curiosity that Burnet excited, by relating that "Lady Vane began her reckoning for her son, the Lord Barnard, from the night before Sir Henry lost his head on Tower Hill." Perhaps the deep piety and constant negation of all merit in himself, by which the heroism of Vane was softened and ennobled, may have suggested to minds unacquainted with these principles the imputation of constitutional timidity. At all events this cloud, whether truly belonging to his character, or raised by the envious breath of his detractors, has, from the admirable vigour of his mind and the unquestioned courage of his demeanour, served rather to embellish than to obscure the lustre of his fame.

NOTE VII. P. 327.

The accounts of the first conversations which the missionaries held with various bodies of these heathens, abound with curious questions and observations that proceeded from the Indians in relation to the tidings that were brought to their ears. One man asked, Whether Englishmen were ever so ignorant of Jesus Christ as the Indians? A second, Whether Jesus Christ could understand prayers in the Indian language? A third proposed this question, How there could be an image of God, since it was forbidden in the second commandment? On another occasion, after Mr. Elliot had done speaking, an aged Indian started up, and with tears in his eyes asked, Whether it was not too late for such an old man as he, who was near death, to repent and seek after God? A second asked, How the English came to

differ so much from the Indians in their knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, since they had all at first but one Father? A third desired to be informed, How it came to pass that sea water was salt, and river water fresh? Several inquired, How Judas could deserve blame for facilitating the end which it was the purpose of God to effect? One woman asked, Whether she was entitled to consider herself as having prayed, when she merely joined in her mind with her husband who prayed by her side? Another, If her husband's prayer signified any thing while he continued to beat his wife? Many of the converts continued to believe that the gods whom they had formerly served had in reality great power, but were spirits subordinate to the true and only God; and when threatened with witchcraft by the Powaws for their apostasy, they said, We do not deny your power, but we serve a greater God, who is so much above yours that he can defend us from them, and enable even us to tread upon them all. One sachem sent for an Indian convert, and desired to know how many gods the English had? When he heard they had but one, he replied scornfully, Is that all? I have thirty-seven? Do they suppose I would exchange so many for one?

NOTE VIII. P. 349.

The character of George Fox is by no means generally understood in the present day. His writings are so voluminous, and there is such a mixture of good and evil in them, that every reader finds it easy to justify his preconceived opinion, and to fortify it by appropriate quotations. His works are read by few, and wholly read by still fewer. Many form their opinions of him from the passages which are cited from his writings by his adversaries: and of the quakers there are many who derive their opinions of him from the passages of a very different complexion which are cited in the works of the modern writers of their own sect. I shall here subjoin some extracts from his Journal, which will verify some of the remarks I have made in the text: premising this observation, that the book itself was first put into my hands by a zealous and intelligent quaker, for the purpose of proving that it contained no such passages as some of those which I am now to transcribe from it.

Fox relates, that in the year 1648 he found his nature so completely new-modelled, that "I knew nothing but pureness, innocency, and righteousness, being renewed up into the image of God by Christ Jesus; so that I was come up to the state of Adam which he was in before he fell. The

creation was opened to me; and it was showed me how all things had their names given them according to their nature and virtue. I was at a stand in my mind whether I should practise physic for the good of mankind, seeing the nature and virtues of the creatures were so opened to me by the Lord. But I was immediately taken up in Spirit to see another or more stedfast state than Adam's in innocency, even into a state in Christ Jesus that should never fall. The Lord showed me that such as were faithful to him in the power and light of Christ should come up into that state in which Adam was before he fell; in which the admirable works of the creation and the virtues thereof may be known through the openings of that divine Word of wisdom and power by which they were made." In many of the disputes which he afterwards held with ministers and doctors, he maintained that he was, and that every human being by cultivation of the spiritual principle within him might become like him, perfectly pure and free from all dregs of sin. He relates with complacency and approbation, that having one day addressed a congregation of people at Beverley in Yorkshire, the audience declared afterwards that it was an angel or spirit that had suddenly appeared among them and spoken to them. He conceived himself warranted by his endowments to trample on all order and decency. One Sunday as he approached the town of Nottingham, he tells, "I espied the great *steeple-house*; and the Lord said unto me, thou must go cry against yonder great idol, and against the worshippers therein." He accordingly entered the church, and hearing the minister announce the text, *We have also a more sure word of prophecy*, and tell the people that by this was meant the Scriptures, whereby they were to try all doctrines, religions, and opinions, Fox adds, "I could not hold, but was made to cry out, 'Oh no; it is not the Scriptures; it is the Holy Spirit.'" On another occasion having entered a church, and hearing the preacher read for his text, *Ho! every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters*, &c. Fox called out to him, "Come down, thou deceiver! dost thou bid people come freely and take of the water of life freely, and yet thou takest three hundred pounds a year of them for preaching the scriptures to them?" Approaching the town of Lichfield, he declares he found himself directed to cast off his shoes, and in that condition walk through the streets, exclaiming, "Woe to the bloody city of Lichfield!" which he accordingly did. These examples are selected almost at random from numberless instances of similar proceedings recorded in his voluminous journal. Yet he strongly condemns those whom he terms *ranters*, and relates in various places the attempts he

had made to convince them of their delusion. (Journal, 3d edit. 1765, pp. 16. 24. 27. 34. 49. 50. 51.)

William Penn, in the beautiful Preface which he wrote for this Journal, informs us that these ranters were persons who "for want of staying their minds in an humble dependence upon him that opened their understandings to see great things in his law, ran out in their own imaginations, and mixing them with these divine openings, brought forth a monstrous birth, to the scandal of those that feared God." "Divers," he adds, "fell into gross and enormous practices, pretending in excuse thereof that they could without evil commit the same act which was sin in another to do." "I say," he continues, "this ensnared divers, and brought them to an utter and lamentable loss as to their eternal state; and they grew very troublesome to the better sort of people, and furnished the looser with an occasion to blaspheme." (Preface, p. 7.)

Fox himself relates some horrid immoralities of the ranters, and that he had found it necessary to publish addresses to give assurance to the people that these deluded persons were quakers only in name (Journal, p. 399). He applies the epithet of ranters to many of those who called themselves quakers in America (443). Some of Fox's chief associates and coadjutors appear to have become in the end ranters, or something worse. Of these was James Nayler, who was long the fellow-labourer and fellow-sufferer of Fox, and whom Fox still terms a quaker, at the time when he was in prison for his horrible enormities. Fox alludes vaguely and sorrowfully to Nayler's errors and disobedience to himself. When he found that Nayler would not give heed to his rebukes, Fox told him that "the Lord moved me to slight him, and to set the power of God over him." He adds, that it soon after happened to Nayler that "his resisting the power of God in me, and the truth of God that was declared to him by me, became one of his greatest burdens." (Journal, p. 205.) Nayler had ridden naked into Bristol with a crew of insane followers making the most blasphemous proclamations before him, and had committed the most profligate immoralities. On his trial he produced a woman, one Dorcas Earberry, who deposed that she had been dead two days, and was recalled to life by Nayler.

It is impossible to discover what part of the extravagance of Nayler was condemned by Fox and the proper body of the quakers. We find Fox relating with great approbation many wild and absurd exhibitions by which quakers were moved, as they said, to show themselves as signs of the times. "Some," he says, "have been moved to go naked in the streets, and have declared amongst them that God

would strip them of their hypocritical professions, and make them as bare and naked as they were. But instead of considering it, they have frequently whipped, or otherwise abused them." (Journal, p. 386.) Many such instances he relates in the Journal (p. 323, &c.), with cordial approbation of the conduct of the quakers, and the strongest reprobation of the persecutors who punished them for walking naked.

Fox taught that God did not create the devil (Journal, p. 140). Yet though the reasoning by which he defends this gross heresy would plainly seem to imply that the devil was a self-created being, there is another passage (p. 345) from which we may perhaps conclude that Fox's real opinion was that the devil was created by God a good spirit, but transformed himself by his own act into a wicked one. He sets down every misfortune that happened to any of his adversaries or persecutors as a judgment of Heaven upon them. He relates various cures of sick and wounded persons that ensued on his prayers, and on more ordinary means that he used for their relief. It is not easy to discover if he himself regarded these as the exertions of miraculous power; but from many passages it is plain that they were (to his knowledge) so regarded by his followers; and the editor of his journal refers to them in the index under the head of "Miracles."

I think it not unreasonable to consider quakerism the growth of a protestant country, and quietism, which arose among catholics, as branches of a system essentially the same; and Madame Guyon and Molinos as the counterparts of Fox and Barclay. The moral resemblance is plainer than the historical connexion; but the propagation of sentiment and opinion may be powerfully effected when it is not visibly indicated. Quietism was first engendered in Spain, by a sect called the Illuminati or Alambrados, who sprang up about the year 1575. They rejected sacraments and other ordinances; and some of them became notorious for indecent and immoral extravagances. This sect was revived in France in the year 1634, but quickly disappeared under a hot persecution. It re-appeared again with a system of doctrine considerably purified (yet still inculcating the distinctive principle of exclusive teaching by an inward light and sensible direction) towards the close of the seventeenth century, both at Rome in the writings of Molinos, and in France under the auspices of Madame Guyon and Fenelon. Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. ix. p. 156, and xv. p. 766.

NOTE IX. P. 358.

Besse, in his voluminous "Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers," relates that Lydia Wardell of Newbury in New England, a convert to quakerism, at length found herself concerned to appear in a public assembly "in a very unusual manner, and such as was exceeding hard and self-denying to her natural disposition, she being a woman of exemplary modesty in all her behaviour. The duty and concerns he lay under was that of going into their church at Newbury naked, as a token of that miserable condition which she esteemed them in." "But they, instead of religiously reflecting on their own condition, which she came in that manner to represent to them, fell into a rage and presently laid hands on her," &c. Vol. ii. p. 235. He also notices the case of "Deborah Wilson, a young woman of very modest and retired life, and of a sober conversation, having passed naked through the streets as a sign against the cruelty and oppression of the rulers." 236.

George Bishop, another quaker writer, thus relates the case of Deborah Wilson. "She was a modest woman, of a retired life and sober conversation; and bearing a great burden for the hardness and cruelty of the people, she went through the town of Salem naked as a sign; which she having in part performed, was laid hold on, and bound over to appear at the next court of Salem, where the wicked rulers sentenced her to be whipt." New England judged, p. 388. The writings of Besse, Bishop, and some others, who were foolish enough to defend the extravagance that they had too much sense to commit, were the expiring sighs of quaker nonsense and frenzy. They are still mentioned with respect by some modern quakers, who praise instead of reading them; as the sincere but frantic zeal of Loyola and Xavier are still commended by their sly successors, who have inherited the name and the manners, without the spirit that distinguished the original Jesuits.

It had been well if the government of Massachusetts had inflicted punishment on the disgusting violations of decency avowed by these writers, without extending its severity to the bare profession of quakerism. This injustice was occasioned by the conviction that these outrages were the legitimate fruits of quaker principles; a conviction which, it appears, the language even of those quakers who were themselves guiltless of such outrages, tended strongly to confirm. It is only such language on the part of the quakers that can acquit their adversaries of the inhuman absurdity that pervades the reasoning of persecutors, and holds men

responsible for all the consequences that may be logically deduced from their principles, though rejected and denied by themselves. The sentiments of the people of New England are thus strongly expressed by Cotton Mather: "I appeal to all the reasonable part of mankind whether the infant colonies of New England had not cause to guard themselves against these dangerous villains. It was also thought that the very quakers themselves would say, that if they had got into a corner of the world, and with immense toil and charge made a wilderness habitable, on purpose there to be undisturbed in the exercises of their worship, they would never bear to have New Englanders come among them and interrupt their public worship, and endeavour to seduce their children from it; yea and repeat such endeavours after mild entreaties first, and then just banishments to oblige their departure." B. VII. cap. iv. Yet Mather deplores and condemns the extreme severities which were ultimately inflicted by his countrymen upon the quakers. It was one of the privileges of Israel that *the people shall dwell alone*; and the hope of enjoying a similar privilege was one of the motives that led the puritans to exchange the pleasures of their native land for the labours of a desolate wilderness.

NOTE X. P. 373.

Upon this occasion Cotton Mather observes—"Such has been the jealous disposition of our New Englanders about their dearly-bought privileges, and such also has been the various understanding of the people about the extent of those privileges, that of all the agents which they have sent over unto the court of England for now forty years together, I know not any one who did not at his return meet with some very froward entertainment among his countrymen: and there may be the Wisdom of the Holy and Righteous God, as well as the malice of the Evil One, acknowledged in the ordering of such temptations."

Mr. Norton before his departure for England expressed a strong apprehension that the affair he was required to engage in would issue disastrously to himself. Mather adds, "In the spring before his going for England, he preached an excellent sermon unto the representatives of the whole colony assembled at the Court of Election, wherein I take particular notice of this passage—*Moses was the meekest man in earth, yet it went ill with Moses, 'tis said, for their sakes. How long did Moses live at Meribah? Sure I am, it killed him in a short time; a man of as good a temper as could be expected from a mere man.*"

It might have been thought that Mr. Norton, whose death was thus in a manner the fruit of his exertions to extend religious liberty in the colony, would have escaped the reproach of persecution. But he had given great offence to some of the quakers, by writing and preaching against their tenets. And after his death, certain of that body published at London, *A Representation to King and Parliament*, wherein, pretending to report some *Remarkable Judgments upon their Persecutors*, they inserted the following passage: "John Norton, chief priest in Boston, by the immediate power of the Lord, was smitten, and as he was sinking down by the fireside, being under just judgment, he confessed the hand of the Lord was upon him, and so he died." Mather, B. III. cap. ii. sect. 21, 22, 23. The popish fables respecting the deaths of Luther, Calvin, Bucer, and Beza, are hardly more replete with folly, untruth, and presumption, than some of these quaker interpretations of providence. Their authors, like many other persons involved in religious contentions, or exposed to persecution for religion's sake, mistook an ardent zeal for God, for a complete subjection of mind to his will, and an entire identification of their views and purposes with his; practically regardless of their own remaining infirmity and corruption, and of that important truth, that while we continue in this veil of flesh, we know only in part, and can see but through a glass darkly. Among other evil consequences, this error begets a contracted or perverted view of the administration of divine justice. It was when the royal psalmist, impatient of his own sufferings, and of the prosperity of oppressors, perplexed himself with endeavours to find within the compass of this life a visible display of the whole scene of divine justice, that he uttered the words of folly and ignorance, and offended against the generation of the children of God.

NOTE XI. Page 376.

Mr. Winthrop the younger was in the bloom of manhood, accomplished by learning and travel, and the heir of a large estate, when he readily joined with his father in promoting and accompanying an emigration to New England. Cotton Mather has preserved a letter written by Winthrop the elder to his son, while the one was governor of Massachusetts, and the other of Connecticut. I shall be excused for transcribing some part of an epistle so beautiful in itself and so strikingly characteristic of the fathers of New England. "You are the chief of two families. I had by your mother three sons, and three daughters; and I had with her a large

portion of outward estate. These now are all gone; mother gone; brethren and sisters gone: you only are left to see the vanity of these temporal things, and learn wisdom thereby; which may be of more use to you, through the Lord's blessing, than all that inheritance which might have befallen you: And for which, this may stay and quiet your heart, that God is able to give you more than this; and that it being spent in the furtherance of his work, which has here prospered so well through his power hitherto, you and yours may certainly expect a liberal portion in the prosperity and blessing thereof hereafter; and the rather, because it was not forced from you by a father's power, but freely resigned by yourself, out of a loving and filial respect unto me, and your own readiness unto the work itself. From whence, as I do often take occasion to bless the Lord for you, so do I also commend you and yours to his fatherly blessing, for a plentiful reward to be rendered unto you. And doubt not, my dear son, but let your faith be built upon his promise and faithfulness, that as he hath carried you hitherto through many perils, and provided liberally for you, so he will do for the time to come, and will never fail you nor forsake you. My son, the Lord knows how dear thou art to me, and that my care has been more for thee than for myself. But I know thy prosperity depends not on my care, nor on thine own, but on the blessing of our heavenly Father: neither doth it on the things of this world, but on the light of God's countenance, through the merit and mediation of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is that only which can give us peace of conscience with contentation; which can as well make our lives happy and comfortable in a mean estate as in a great abundance. But if you weigh things aright, and sum up all the turnings of divine providence together, you shall find great advantage. The Lord hath brought us to a good land; a land where we enjoy outward peace and liberty, and above all, the blessings of the gospel, without the burden of impositions in matters of religion. Many thousands there are who would give great estates to enjoy our condition. Labour, therefore, my good son, to increase our thankfulness to God for all his mercies to thee, especially for that he hath revealed his everlasting good will to thee in Jesus Christ, and joined thee to the visible body of his church, in the fellowship of his people, and hath saved thee in all thy travels abroad from being infected with the vices of these countries where thou hast been, (a mercy vouchsafed but unto few young gentlemen travellers). Let Him have the honour of it who kept thee. He it was who gave thee favour in the eyes of all with whom thou hadst to do, both by sea and land; he it is who hath given

thee a gift in understanding and art; and he it is who hath provided thee a blessing in marriage, a comfortable help, and many sweet children. And therefore I would have you to love him again, and serve him, and trust him for the time to come."—Mather, B. II. cap. xi. sect. 9.

The wife of the writer of the foregoing letter, and the mother of the person to whom it was addressed, was a daughter of the celebrated Hugh Peters.—Savage's Notes to Winthrop's Hist. vol. i. p. 65.

Winthrop the elder not only performed actions worthy to be written, but produced writings worthy to be read. Yet his Journal, or History as it has been termed in the late edition by Mr. Savage, is, I think, very inferior in spirit and interest to his letters. I hope that Mr. Savage has expressed rather his own editorial partiality than the prevalent taste of New England, in preferring this performance to the work of Cotton Mather. It would seem indeed that Winthrop's Journal has not derived much support from its own popularity, since "the liberal aid" of the legislature of Massachusetts is acknowledged to have been requisite to its publication.

I must regret that I had not an earlier opportunity of perusing the performance of Mr. Savage, to whose sagacity I owe the detection of an error into which I have been betrayed by the authorities on which I have hitherto relied. At present it is not in my power to correct it otherwise than by noticing (in conformity with Mr. Savage's note, vol. ii. p. 159), that although Sir John Harvey was displaced from the office of governor of Virginia in 1639, Sir William Berkeley, whom I have supposed to have been his immediate successor, was not appointed till 1641. The government in the interim was held by Sir Francis Wyatt.

NOTE XII. P. 405.

Among many interesting and romantic adventures and escapes related by Mather, Neal, Hutchinson, Dwight, and other New England writers, as having occurred during the continuance of Philip's War, there is one incident which excited much marvelling at the time, and has since derived an increase of interest from the explanation which it received after the death of the party principally concerned in it. In 1675, the town of Hadley was alarmed by the sudden approach of a body of Indians in the time of public worship, and the people were thrown into a confusion that betokened an unresisted massacre. "Suddenly a grave elderly person appeared in the midst of them. Whence he came or who

he was, nobody could tell. In his mien and dress he differed from the rest of the people. He not only encouraged them to defend themselves, but putting himself at their head, he rallied, instructed, and led them on to encounter the enemy, who by this means were repulsed. As suddenly the deliverer of Hadley disappeared; and the people were left in a state of perplexity and amazement, and utterly unable to account for this singular phenomenon. After his death it was known to have been Goffe the regicide, who resided somewhere in the neighbourhood, but in such deep sequestration that none but those who were intrusted with the secret were ever able to make the remotest approach to a discovery of his retreat. Whaley resided with him; and they had some years before been joined by another of the regicides, Colonel Dixwell. They frequently changed their place of abode, and gave the name of *Ebenezer* to every spot that afforded them shelter. They had many friends both in England and in the New England states, and with some they maintained a pretty close correspondence. They had constant and exact intelligence of every thing that passed in England, and were unwilling to give up all hopes of deliverance. Their greatest expectations were from the fulfilment of the prophecies of scripture, which they had intently studied. They had no doubt that the execution of the judges was *the slaying of the witnesses;* and were much disappointed when the year 1666 had passed without any remarkable event, but still flattered themselves with the hope that common chronology might be erroneous. The strict inquisition that was made for them by the royal commissioners and others, renders their concealment in a country so thinly peopled, and where every stranger was the object of immediate and curious notice, truly surprising. It appears that they were befriended and much esteemed for their piety by persons who regarded the great action in which they had participated with the strongest disapprobation. Hutchinson, 215—219.

It requires less sense and humanity than were common in New England to perceive that the capital trial of a king must ever be a mockery of justice, and practically refutes the plea of necessity that is sometimes made the apology for defect of justice. No man will accept a commission to sit as judge of his king, without previously determining for his own safety to convict him, and to guard the sentence from being infringed by pardon: and the authority that is powerful enough to bring the king to trial has nothing to apprehend from his hostility in exile. How different was the situation of Charles and his prosecutors, from the relations which courts of justice commonly imply, was strongly ex-

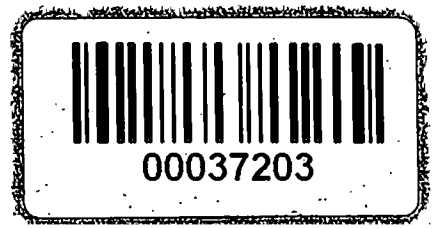
pressed by Cook, the Solicitor for the People of England, who declared, that although in ordinary trials he had often trembled to think how much easier it would be to account to God for mercy and indulgence than for justice and rigour, yet now it was meat and drink to him to ask judgment against the king. Howell's State Trials, iv. 1045.

In such, as in all cases, the brave and generous is the safest course. While the deposed king lives, the demerits that have procured his deposition attach to his cause; but when his blood is shed, his faults seem to be washed away, and the cause which he maintained, purified from much of its odium by compassion, is transmitted to his unoffending descendants.

NOTE XIII. P. 465.

In every state of human society, and under every form of faith, the belief of witchcraft has prevailed. Heathens, who are represented in scripture as serving demons, have respected and sought to propitiate the powers of witchcraft. Christians, or persons professing the service of the true God, have condemned and punished the practice. It has prevailed from time immemorial in Africa, which is generally considered by the learned as its cradle. Bryan Edwards has given a curious account of the witchcraft or Obeah practices believed and cultivated among the negroes in the West Indies. He states that the term Obeah, Obiah, or Obia (for it is variously written), is the adjective, and Obe or *Obi* the noun substantive; and that by the terms Obia men, and Obia women, are meant those who practise *Obi* or witchcraft. History of the West Indies, vol. ii. p. 107.—Jacob Bryant, in his commentary on the word *Oph*, remarks that "a serpent in the Egyptian language was called *Ob* or *Aub*;" and that "*Obion* is still the Egyptian name for a serpent." "Moses," he continues, "in the name of God forbids the Israelites ever to inquire of the demon *Ob*, which is translated in our bible, charmer or wizard, divinator or sorcilegus." "The woman at Endor," he adds, "is called *Oub* or *Ob*, translated Pythonissa; and *Oubaois* was the name of the basilisk or royal serpent, emblem of the sun, and an ancient oracular deity of Africa." Bryant's Ancient Mythology, vol. i. p. 48, 475, and 478.

END OF VOL. I.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